

The Saraswati Mahal Series 1.

THE

MUDRĀRĀKSASANĀTAKAKATHĀ
OF
MAHĀDEVA

EDITED

WITH INTRODUCTION NOTES

BY

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WITH A FOREWORD

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1946

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TO
THE FOUNDERS
AND
THE PROMOTERS
OF THE
SARASWATI MAHAL,
TANJORE

FOREWORD

The publication of this work, the *Mudrā-rākṣasānāṭakakathā* of Mahādeva, marks the first step of a planned attempt by the Administrative Committee of the Saraswati Mahal Library, Tanjore, to bring out some at least of the rare works, in Samskr̥it and Tamil, to be found in the archives of the Library, after careful and scholarly editing. Conditions of 'War emergency' have created special difficulties in the path of intending publishers, both with regard to procurement of paper and the actual processes of printing, and it may be some time before the Administrative Committee is enabled to bring out any publication of the longer Manuscripts, but it is a matter for some satisfaction that this short but interesting prose work of Mahādeva is now before the public in an acceptable form.

Love of learning, schools, and works of intellectual eminence has deep roots in our culture and civilisation. Even when the patronage of Kings and Courts declined, men in this country have kept alive the small flame of knowledge and enquiry. The attitude of Browning's 'Grammarian'

—“Grant I have mastered Learning's crabbed text ; still there's the comment,” is typical of the avidity of our own *Savants* in the pursuit of Truth. It is to be hoped that in these days of a spreading democracy, these values will not be lost, and that an ardent public support will replace the patronage of Royalties.

The Committee is deeply beholden to Dr V Raghavan, M A , Ph D of the Madras University, for the scholarly care, thoroughness and accuracy with which he has performed the important task of editing this work. A glance at the Table of Contents will show the facilities for reference and study provided by the Editor. The Committee must also express its indebtedness to the authorities of the Madras University for granting the necessary permission to Dr Raghavan to undertake this labour of love.

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P R E F A C E

The *Mudrārāksasanātakakathā* of Mahādeva is published here for the first time from a single manuscript of it preserved in the Maharaja Serfoji's Saraswati Mahal Library, Tanjore. It is a short prose work giving the story of the famous drama of Viśīkhadatta the *Mudrārāksasa* in the form of a simple narrative, and may be found suitable as a Sanskrit Prose Text for the Intermediate Classes in the Universities. In this book is to be seen the small beginning of a series of publications which the Saraswati Mahal Library is inaugurating, and I am thankful to the Administrative Committee of the Library, particularly to its President Sri M Anantanarayanan, M.A., I.C.S., Dt Judge Tanjore, and to the Hon'ble Secretary, Sri S Gopalan, B.A. B.L., Tanjore, for inviting me to edit this work for the Library. It is a matter for congratulation that besides running a Journal, the Library has started the Saraswati Mahal Series of publications in which will appear editions and works based on the rare and rich manuscript material available in the Library.

The single manuscript of this *Kathā* available in the Tanjore Library is not noticed in the Catalogue of the Library, it is in Telugu characters and the material is rough country paper.

measuring $7\frac{1}{4}'' \times 10\frac{1}{4}''$ and numbering 33 sheets, it is bound in cardboards made up of similar paper, pasted together and containing some Tamil matter, here and there are to be seen some extraneous Telugu scribblings. The mistakes in the manuscript are few and the e have been corrected in the text presented here, in one instance (p 5), I have restored a missing word on the basis of an external testimonium, and in another (p 34), I have left a corrupt passage as it is with a question mark, making my suggestion for reconstructing the corrupt passage in the Notes. I am thankful to the Library Staff for providing me with a Devanagari copy of the text and to Dr N Venkataramanayya, M A, Ph D, Reader in Indian History, University of Madras, for helping me to compare this copy with the original Telugu manuscript and correct the slips.

At the end of the work, I have given textual, traditional and historical Notes, an Index of the characters in the story with a brief description and account of the part played by each, and an Index and concordance of verses and prose passages taken by Mahādeva from the original Drama. My Introduction in the beginning deals with all the known works which concern themselves with the story of the Mudrārāksasa, the author Mahādeva and his work, his probable date and the relation his text bears to the Drama, to these I

have added a free translation of Mahādeva's text, and accounts of the story of Nanda Candragupta and Cānakya as found in the several Brahminical, Buddhistic, Jain and Greek sources. The book will thus be useful not only to students who study the difficult drama of Viśākhadatta in their college courses but also to those students of history who are interested in Mauryan research.

My thanks are due to the authorities of the University of Madras for permitting me to edit this work for the Maharaja Serfoji's Saraswati Mahal Library Tanjore and also to the Proprietors of the Srinivasa Press Tiruvadū, Tanjore and Messrs Thompson & Co Madras, for executing the printing work.

As one who had worked in the Saraswati Mahal Library once I feel gratified at the opportunity afforded to me to associate myself with the work of the Library and I appeal to all scholars and patrons to bestow greater attention on a Library which possesses one of the best and biggest manuscript collections which South India might well be proud of and help the Library to further its activities and make itself more useful to the public.

UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS } V RAGHAVAN
 6th March 1945 }

INTRODUCTION

The *Mudrārākṣasa* is one of the few Sanskrit dramas possessing a dominant story interest¹. This interest pertains not only to the events falling within the scope of the drama but comprehends also the historical or quasi-historical background against which the theme of the drama has to be understood. The multiplicity of the incidents and their intricate interweaving in the drama-part of the story and the variety and confusion characterising the versions of the historical background of the story have both rendered the understanding of the *Mudrārākṣasa* difficult. Scholars had therefore found it necessary to tell the story of the *Mudrārākṣasa* in the form of a simple narrative. Such narratives that we know of are of four kinds, those that give an account of the historical background only, those that cover the story of the antecedents together with that of the drama, those in prose and those in verse.

Aufrecht records in his Catalogus Catalogorum (I. p 461) two Oppert manuscripts of a *Mudrārākṣasakathāsāra*, one in Bhavani, Coimbatore District, and another in the Maharajah's Palace Library, Trivandrum. Nothing can be known of the identity of the former manuscript; the latter, it is probable, represents the work of Ravi Nartaka which we shall notice below.

¹ See my Foreword to the *Rjulaghvi* or *Mālatimādhavakathā* edited by N. A. Gore, M.A., Oriental Book Agency, Poona.

Ananta Bhatta of Punyastambha on the Godāvari, son of Tryambaka (Tūnāji) Pandita and grandfather of the logician Mahādeva Punatāmakara is a well known scholiast of the middle of the 17th cent AD. He wrote his gloss on Govardhana's Aryāsaptaśati in 1645 AD and his gloss on Bhānudatta's Rasamañjari in 1636 AD at Benares. He wrote also a small work called *Mudrārāksasa purvapithikā* or *Mudrārāksasa pūrvasankathānaka*. This work is in prose and deals only with the introductory story leading up to the plot of the drama. Rajendralal Mitra describes a manuscript of it in his Notices IV, No 1654 and there are two more manuscripts of it in the Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner. The first version given by Jivananda Vidyasagar in his edition of the *Mudrārāksasa* is a summary of Ananta Bhatta's work.

In the Bikaner Library there is another manuscript containing an anonymous version in prose, concerning itself like Ananta's, with only the events leading up to the plot of the drama.²

² The ms begins

वारदेवी गणनाथ च नमस्तुत्य तुहनि । मुद्राराक्षसनाट्यस्य किवते
पूर्वीठम् ॥ अति समलमुरामुरस्युहणीयम् etc

I am thankful to Mr K Madhava Krishna Saīma Curator of the Bikaner Library for supplying the information pertaining to these Bikaner mss. Dr C Kunhan Raja Hony Adviser to the Bikaner Library enlightened me on the nature of the stories in these two versions in the Bikaner mss. It is understood that these two versions are being published by the Anup Library, Bikaner.

The third account is by Dhundhirāja, the well-known commentator on the *Mudrārākṣasa*, who prefaces his commentary with a metrical resumé of the incidents which happened before the action in the drama begins. Dhundhi belonged to a family called Vyāsa, was the son of Lakṣmaṇa, a resident of Swamimalai near Kumbhakonam in the Tanjore District, and a protigé of Tryambaka yajvan³, the minister of Serfoji I (A.D. 1711-1720) of Tanjore. Dhundhi finished his gloss on the *Mudrārākṣasa* in A.D. 1713. This metrical version is printed in Telang's edition of the *Mudrārākṣasa* with Dhundhi's commentary, and the second version given by Jivananda Vidyasagar in his edition of the drama is based on Dhundhi's verses. Dhundhi's account agrees with that of Mahādeva edited here.

Tradition says that the famous Kerala scholar Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa of Melputtur (A.D. 1559-1666) composed most of his *Prabandhas* or compositions intended for the dance-exposition called Cākyārkūttu for a Cākyār friend of his named Ravi. This Ravi Nartaka produced a metrical version of the entire story of the drama as well as the events that preceded it. This version may be called the Cāṇakyakathā and many manuscripts of it are found in the several manuscript libraries⁴. Ravi's work has been published, with a commentary by

3 Tryambakarāyamakhin finished his Dharmākūṭa on the Rāmāyaṇa in A.D. 1719

4 See for instance the Descriptive Catalogue of the Maha rajah's Palace Library, Trivandrum, Nos. 17647; Adyar Library

Rajagopala of Madura (Madras 1882) and by Satish Churn Law (Calcutta Oriental Series, 6; Calcutta 1921)⁵

Catalogue II p 106 3 mss 27 H 27 2 H 29 and 24 A 4 Madras Government Oriental MSS Library Nos D 12180-3

The work is variously called in these mss. The Trivandrum mss call it Mudiarākṣasakathasara the Adyar mss Mu Ra Kathasara and Mu Ra Kathasamgraha the Madras mss call it Kauṭilyakathasāra

It is clear that scr bes are responsible for a few additions and differences noticeable in some of these mss. Though all the three Adyar mss represent only Ravi's work 27 H 27 represents a copy of an original from which verses 1-14 were missing and the scribe or somebody else supplied a different set of verses there and this Adyar ms. corresponds exactly to the Madras ms D 12183 in this respect. The Trivandrum ms 1-64 ends with a different set of verses and Trivandrum 1-66 has a different verse on Sunandā's pregnancy

5 The Calcutta edn has many mistakes

10(b) नन्दपति for नन्दभूपति 18(b) गर्भ दधे for दधे गर्भम् 31(b) Ms^a read नक्लाश here as नम्रनास The drama calls him Vakranāsa 39(c) महीभार for महीभरम्. 89(c) अमोचायध्वत् for अमोचयिध्वत् 100(b) मन्त्रकृता for यन्त्रकृता 100(a) समित् for खणित् 113(b) उल्लेख्य for दुष्क्लेख 115(d) साग्रेप सित for साटोपसितम्. 138(d) भोजन for भाजनम् 165(d) हिते for हि से 196(a) इष्टवा here is against the metre 207(b) गुरी for गुरी 238(d) सृष्टिम् for मृतिम् 254(b) पूर्व for पूर्वम् 274(a) साच्चन for सउभ 279(c) अपूर्ववध for अपूर्वव्यय 279(d) जातहृत for जातु हृत 295(d) निरक्षारथत् for निरक्षासथत् 296(b) शूलारोहण for शूलरोपण 330(d) उपपत्रकमटे for उपपत्रे कमटे.

While describing an India Office manuscript of this work (No. 7124) Dr. A. B. Keith characterises Ravi's production as a 'version in slipshod verse'. When Ravi comes to the drama-part of the story he no doubt hurries over the narration, but his verses, especially in the earlier part of the work, are very well turned out and are strikingly accomplished⁶.

The fifth work giving an account of the *Mudrārākṣasa* story is the prose version of *Mahādeva* printed in the pages that follow. This work called the *Mudrārākṣasanāṭakakathā* deals with the story of the drama and the incidents that preceded the theme of the drama. As *Ananta Bhaṭṭa*, *Dhunḍhirāja* and the unknown author of the other version in a Bikaner manuscript have all dealt only with the incidents which led to the theme of the drama (*Pūrvapīṭhikā*), and as Ravi *Nartaka*'s version hurries over the drama portion of the story, *Mahādeva*'s, here presented for the first time in print, is the only work available now that gives us a full and good narrative of the entire story of the drama and its antecedent events.

331(b) चक्षत् for क्षक्षत्. 344(a) प्रासचाणक्याय for प्रासंचाणक्याय. 349(b) राक्षसमेषु for राक्षसमेव. 349(d) ऐष्टं ददी may be ऐष्टं ददा. A revised edition will be welcome.

⁶ I am told by Dr C. Kunhan Raja that Ravi *Nartaka*'s version is the basis of the Malayalam work on this subject named *Cāṇakyasūtra*.

In the beginning of his metrical version, Ravi Nartaka says that the story of Cānakya is available in prose form and that he is only retelling it in verses

चाणक्यस्य कथा सेयं विद्यते गद्यस्त्विणी ।
अथ ता पद्यता नेतुमुद्यतो रविनर्तक ॥

What is the prose work that Ravi Nartaka had before him when he wrote his metrical version? It appears possible that the prose version referred to by him is Mahadeva's work edited here. Firstly, both attempt to cover the drama as well as its antecedent events; secondly, the *main* details of the story in both are identical, and thirdly, in addition to the identity of the major elements of the story many lines of Ravi Nartaka's version are close to Mahadeva's text. Ravi Nartaka has not slavishly turned the prose composition into verse, but has exercised freedom to make a departure from the original on some points, to add a few details and to introduce some minor innovations.⁷

7 See the following in Ravi's version sloka 7 Ravi definitely mentions Sarvathasiddhi as otherwise called Nanda
§ 13 Sunanda is said to have received the nine drops of the Padodaka in a mocking spirit § 15 Māur as birth is put earlier § 20 a heavenly voice is introduced to assure the king that in the mass of flesh nine sons have been born § 2^o the ghee-can of the prose version is an oil-can here § 31 the minister Nakranāsa is introduced to suggest the ninefold partition of the kingdom § 35ff before the alternative of ruling the city by turns is proposed an additional solution of creating eight other capitals is suggested § 8^o the king sending the warlion is named as the Valla or Vanga king § 88 the old minister who mentions Candragupta's name is specified by name

These differences however do not alter the fact that Ravi Nartaka's text generally follows Mahādeva's work, as can be well realised by a

as Viśikha 61 96 the Nandas give Candragupta the Kośa of his father to induce him to come out of the cellar and not his father's office, 61 113 Caṇakya burns the grass to ash and not merely crushes it 61 122 Caṇakya does not introduce himself as a Dakṣipatya 61a 138, 140 a 1000 seals for dinner, not 100 only 61 147 Caṇakya does not untie his tuft and swear but his tuft gets loose as he is dragged by it, 61 167. Induśarman creates first a fever he is then said to stop Brahman feeding at the palace, and then he creates an Unmādagraha 61 173 Candragupta is said to be banished by the Nandas 61 174 and Caṇakya makes him reside at a place called Vardhamana ten yojanas from the city 61 175 introduces a forest chief Śabara natha 61 180 ff as a camouflage Caṇakya advertises Parvata keśvara as having declared enmity against some distant king and under pretext of going against him they proceed against the Nandas, 61 188 the date of the battle is given as Aśadha Kṛṣṇa pakṣa beginning instead of Valśakha pūrṇimā 61 193 Candragupta allies himself with Parvata by giving him half his treasury 61a 197 200 in the battle between Candragupta and the Nandas, Candragupta meets Rākṣasī bows to him and offers to call off the battle if a portion of the kingdom is given to him Rākṣasa abuses him and asks him to fight 61a 208 211 Caṇakya besieges the city within which Sarvārthaśiddhi and Rākṣasa are hidden and offers to raise the seige if Sarvārthaśiddhi retires to the forest Sarvārthaśiddhi does so hoping to come back to authority later but in 61 222 Ravi narrates Sarvārthaśiddhi going to the forest as found in our prose version 61 223 makes Sarvārthaśiddhi a party to the attempts on Candragupta's life 61 227 introduces a new attempt on Candragupta's life with a poison fruit sent by Sarvārthaśiddhi through spies Caṇakya manages to substitute a good fruit in its stead and contrives to send the poison fruit to Sarvārthaśiddhi himself who eats it and dies 61 267 Malayi

perusal of the two texts⁸. One passage can be mentioned here to bear out clearly the closeness of Ravi's work to Mahādeva's: When the Nandas and Rākṣasa are at a fix not knowing how to drive out the lion without breaking the cage, and an old minister there, attached to the late Maurya, mentions Candragupta as a master of such trials of wit, the manuscript of Mahādeva's version reads:—

‘मौर्यपुत्रेषु चरमः चन्द्रगुप्तः ईदशकर्मस्तीव पदुः ।
इदानीं तया किं कर्तव्यम् ।’

In the second sentence here 'Idānim tayā kīm kartavyam', there is a clear gap, the word 'tayā' standing without the expression to which it refers; the sense must be 'What use now of thinking of *that which is past?*' That the word 'tayā' here qualifies an expression like 'gata cintayā' can be

ketu swears that he will not do his father's obsequies until he has killed his father's murderer.

8. Compare Mahādeva p. 8, वर्कव्यं सर्वमुक्त्वा and Ravi in the same context वर्कव्यं सिग्नमुक्त्वा. ॥1. 155. Mah. p. 9, नन्दराज्यमर्मस्तव्य and Ravi 182 रिपुमर्मवित्. Mah. p. 9, ब्राह्मणानां क्षपणकानां च सभावसिद्धो विरोधः and Ravi 163, ब्राह्मणाः क्षपणव्येद निः वैरसमन्विताः. Mah. p. 9, मम पुरतः ब्राह्मणानां योग्यता कीदृशी and Ravi 165—6, ब्राह्मणो नाम किन्निदम् तस्य को मत्समो भुवि. Mah. p. 9, हस्तस्थित-मयूरपिञ्जिष्ठाप्रमगमाद्रेण तां कृत्यां शमयामास and Ravi शमयामास पिञ्जिष्ठमणमात्रतः । Mah. p. 10, गूढचारसुखेन विदित्वा क्षपणः नन्दसेनारतीना यृहं गत्वा प्रत्येकं रहस्यवादीत् and Ravi 188 विजानन् क्षपणेभ्यः । नन्दसेनारतीन् प्राप्य रहस्येकं सूचिनान् ॥

safely made out from the corresponding context in Ravi's text where we read:

स हि भौर्यसुतश्चन्द्रगुप्तः शिल्पकलानिधिः ।
अमोचयिष्यत्पञ्चास्यं किं तया गतचिन्तया ॥ 89.

Ravi must have had before him when he wrote this a passage running 'इदानां तता गतचिन्तया किं कर्त्तव्यम्?'

ii

From a verse of the author at the end of the work we learn that he was a Brahman of the Srivatsa gotra, that his name was Mahādeva Tirtha and that he was a scholar in both literature and philosophy.

श्रीमद्यत्सुखलान्नुराशिशशिभिः जीवेन तुल्यैर्धिया
काव्यालङ्कृतितन्त्रपट्टकचतुरैः स्यातैः क्षमामण्डले ।
नातेयोऽधियता क्षमासुरमहादेवाल्यतोर्यः कृतो ।
मुद्राराघवसनाटकोदितकथाभागोऽगमत् पूरणम् ॥

We cannot be sure that the suffix Tirtha at the end of the name means that the author was a Sannyāsin, for Sannyāsins do not refer to details of their Pūrvāśrama like their Gotra; Tirtha probably is a family surname or is simply a general honorific expression.

The only manuscript that we have of the work is not dated; it is however not very old; from its script which is Telugu and general appearance, we may assume that the author of the work was a South Indian, probably patronised by the Tanjore

Court⁹ If, as I have indicated above, Ravi Nartaka of Kerala refers to and follows this prose version in his Cānakyakathā, our author's date may be about A.D 1600 Nārāyaṇa Bhatta of Melputtūr who composed Prabandhas for the Cākyār, Ravi, and flourished between A.D 1559 and 1666, was in contact with the scholars of the Tanjore Court, Bhattatīrī wrote the grammatical tract Apjñānīya-pramānatā as a reply to certain views expressed by a writer named Vainateya of Tanjore, and sent the tract to the two Tanjore Scholars, Someśvara Dīksīta and Yajñanārāyaṇa Dīksīta for opinion¹⁰ Yajñanārāyaṇa Dīksīta was the son of Govinda Dīksīta, minister of King Raghunātha Naik of Tanjore (A.D 1614-1632) In view of this literary contact, it is not impossible for Ravi Nartaka to have had access to Mahādeva's prose version even if it was available only at Tanjore

A consideration of the readings of the Mudrā-rākṣasa text known to Mahādeva is a legitimate means of knowing the author's probable place, but this inquiry does not yield any valuable result here. There are several places where Mahādeva simply reproduces the text of the drama, as can be seen from the Index of verses and prose passages

⁹ The only other Mahadeva among South Indian authors known as a Vatsya is the author of a commentary on Bhanudatta's Rāsamāṇjari Madras Govt. Ori. MSS. Library R No 680 and Tanjore Saraswati Mahal Library No 5°84

¹⁰ Edited by Pandit E. V. Raman Namputiri Ori. MSS. Library Trivandrum 1942 The edn contains also Bhattatīrī's covering letter to the Tanjore scholars

borrowed by Mahādeva from Viśākhadeva given at the end of this book. These passages may be used as additional testimonium for the determination of the text of the drama. Telang used ten manuscripts for his edition and Hillebrant twice that number for his, and these manuscripts are drawn from all parts of India. A detailed examination of the readings in Mahādeva's version with those recorded in the two editions mentioned above shows that the text of the drama which Mahādeva used is nearer Hillebrant's edition than Telang's, and among the manuscripts used by Hillebrant, those marked N, a Nepali manuscript, and M, a Malayālam Script manuscript belonging to the Burnell collection in the India Office (see Keith, India Office Catalogue 7366, Burnell ms. No. 103) generally agree with Mahādeva's text; but it must be noted that even here, there are certain characteristic M readings which are not to be seen in Mahādeva's text. Besides this Mahādeva has certain readings which are not to be found in any manuscript of the drama used for these two editions, and these perhaps, like some other changes, were due to some freedom which Mahādeva exercised when writing his narrative.

iii

Mahādeva's Sanskrit is very simple, and does not show any great skill in composition that may be expected of one describing himself as a master of Kāvya, Alaṅkāra and Sāstra. But the loss on the side of marked literary merit has been a gain on the side of simplicity which is to be specially

valued in a narrative aiming at presenting an easily understandable account of a very complicated theme

So far as his narration of the incidents preceding the drama is concerned we do not know on what exact authority Mahādeva bases himself as can be seen in a subsequent section giving a survey of all the available versions of the story of the conflict between the Nandas and Canakya Candra gupta the traditions are varied and confusing and all that is common to them is restricted to a few motifs incidents and names I have indicated in the Notes at the end where the details of our author's version are corroborated or contradicted by details in other versions

As the main task of Mahādeva is the presentation of the intricate plot of the Mudraraksasa in the form of a simple narrative it is necessary to consider whether Mahadeva has done this work satisfactorily As has been pointed out already Ravi Nartaka hurries over the story of the drama but such a defect does not pertain to Mahadeva's narrative which is neat and full explaining also to some extent the intentions and inter relations involved in the numerous schemes and incidents of the story One may wish that the author had devoted then and there more space to detailed analyses of these intentions and inter relations the motives and purposes of the schemes of Canakya and the cunning acts and speeches of his accomplices so that the greatness not only of Cānakya's genius but of Viśakhadatta too may be realised more easily by the general reader But if

Mahādeva has not stopped to dwell more on this, he has made his narrative move fast. The implications of several passages of the drama have been well worked out and set forth in proper order so that we have here a definite aid to the study of Viśākhadatta's drama.

There are, however, some points on which it cannot be said that Mahādeva was careful enough to understand fully the text of Viśākhadatta.

had resorted to black magic to do away with the nine Nandas. The Brhatkathā version, on which the Daśarūpaka says the drama Mudrārāksasa is based, definitely says that Cānakya raised an evil spirit in Śakaṭāla's house and with its aid did away with the Nandas. The drama says in IV 12 कृष्णिल्य वोपनोऽपि खयमभिचरणद्वातदु खप्रतिव दैवाताण्डप्रतिव पुनरपि न वरोत्प्रयतिग्लनिभीत ॥ that Kauṭilya resorted to black magic. The anonymous version in the Bikaner ms takes note of all these references and says that in the battle for Kusumapura, Cānakya practiced black magic against the Nandas. But Mahādeva's version does not speak of any Abhicīra done by Cānakya as part of the battle (pp 9—10), but he makes Jīvasiddhi play a treacherous trick on all the commanders and prevent them from taking part in the battle, and the Nandas perish in the fight owing to the superior numbers of the armies of Candragupta and Parvatakeśvara. In the drama Rāksasa goes away from the city as soon as he despairs of any victory in the fight and espies signs of enemy infiltration, soon after the departure of Sarvārthasiddhi, but in Mahādeva's narrative, the departure comes after the Viṣakanyā incident. After the defeat Mahādeva says, Rāksasa decides that as the tide is against him and he has no forces he will mark time and try to succeed by strategems rather than by any other means and offers his pretended friendship to Candragupta posing as a friend he seduces Parvatakeśvara, he then plans to employ Jīvasiddhi's Viṣakanyā against Candragupta, but in this scheme it is Parvatakeśvara who suffers

fatally. On Parvatakeśvara's death, Rākṣasa gets afraid that his guilt will become public in the morning, enters the city that very night, despatches Sarvārthasiddhi in the guise of a recluse to the forest and runs away from the city after making arrangements for several subversive activities against Candragupta. From this it appears that Rākṣasa's surrender took place outside the city in the camp of Candragupta and Parvatakeśvara, and all this time Sarvārthasiddhi appears to have been within the city (Pp 11-13).

P. 12, Act I, Verse 12.—Nandam Mayā sānvayam. This and several other passages in the drama using the word Nanda in the Singalur and referring to Sarvārthasiddhi, speak definitely of Sarvārthasiddhi also being called Nanda. Mahādeva does not mention Sarvārthasiddhi as being called Nanda.

P. 71, Act I.—The drama refers to Bhadra-bhaṭa etc. as leaders, Pradhānapurusas, who threw their fortunes with Candragupta and rose to importance with his victory (Candragupta-sahotthāyins). Their respective offices, positions and relationship with Candragupta are also mentioned in the drama (Act III. pp 171-2). But Mahādeva fails to describe them thus and introduces them abruptly.

P. 84, Act I.—According to the drama the ring is got first, and as Cūṇakya was considering what he should write in the letter to be sealed with that ring, he is informed of Candragupta's intention to perform Parvatakeśvara's obsequies and present the latter's ornaments to Brahmans; and this puts an-

idea into Cānakya's mind of effectively using the late Parvatakeśvara's ornaments now with Candra gupta, it is after this that Cānakya arranges for the Brahman brothers, Viśvāvasu and two others, receiving them and selling them in Rāksasa's camp Mahādeva puts the ornament episode first and narrates after that the incident of Nīpunaka securing the ring. (pp 19 20) The drama gives also an indication (p 86) of Cānakya implicating the five kings Kaulūta Citravarman etc on Malayaketu's side in the treachery-scheme in the letter, but Mahādeva fails to give this indication (p 20)

P. 142, Act II —The drama says that it is Sakatadāsa who first notes the ring in Siddhārthaka's hand as bearing Rāksasa's name and reports the fact to Rāksasa who examines it. But for the purpose of his narrative, Mahādevī (p 23) omits such minor details, and such omissions are not unjustifiable

P. 146-7, Act II —It is Sakatadāsa who sees some persons selling ornaments and sends them for Rāksasa's view, Rāksasa finds them valuable and orders their purchase. This again is another small detail overlooked by Mahādeva (p 19) who says simply that Rāksasa saw the ornaments and purchased them

P. 171-3, Act III —The statement (Pramāṇa-lekhayapatra) of Bhadrabhaṭa, Bhāgurāyana and others and the ostensible grounds on which they left Candragupta and joined Malayaketu are not mentioned by Mahādeva. Mahādeva briefly speaks on p 22 of the departure of Bhāgurāyana, Bhadra-bhata and others to Malayaketu's camp, and adds

here that they ran as if to capture Śakaṭadāsa, but really on the secret instructions of Cāṇakya. This running as if after Śakaṭadāsa cannot be supported by the drama. What we actually find in the drama (Act I, p 105) is that when Śakaṭadāsa's escape is reported, Cāṇakya orders that Bhāgurāyana, Bhadrabhaṭa and others are to be despatched to bring back Śakaṭadāsa, but is informed that those persons too had fled.

P. 213-216, Act IV.—Rākṣasa asks Kṣapanaka Jivasiddhi for an auspicious day and time for starting on the campaign, and Jivasiddhi mentions an ominous day and time. This is not included by Mahādeva in his narrative (p. 29).

P. 192-3, Act IV. Verse 5.—Malayaketu's vow to perform his father's obsequies only after destroying the enemies is a minor point ignored by Mahādeva.

P. 269, Act VI.—In the drama, it is said that when Rākṣasa left Malayaketu's camp and came to Pātālipura for rescuing Candanadāsa, a spy of Cāṇakya named Udumbara or Undura shadowed Rākṣasa's movement and reported it to Cāṇakya. This spy and his work are omitted by Mahādeva (p. 35).

Of the differences between the drama and Mahādeva's narrative noted above, it may be seen that only a few are material discrepancies; of the rest a few are omissions which are not serious, and a few, minor points which might be ignored.

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watch ; those versed in the ethics say that Durvishdhana and his brothers were also born in this same manner. Having thus thought about it, Rāksasa acted accordingly. After some days then the nine sons were born simultaneously. The king saw the skilfulness of Rāksasa and was immensely pleased, and others also saw and wondered at that achievement of Rāksasa. Just at that time a son was born to Murā also and he, though born of a Sūdra woman, was endowed with brilliant genius, was well-behaved towards superiors and an adept in polity.

In course of time the king celebrated the marriage of all his ten sons, and to Murā's son were then born a hundred sons, equal to their father in their qualities. The last of them known as Candragupta was exceedingly intelligent and well-grounded in statecraft. By reason of their endowments, these sons and their father Maurya as well won the hearts of all the people. Unable to bear that, the nine Nandas became jealous of these sons.

Once king Sarvārthasiddhi held counsel with his ministers with a view to instal on the throne one among his sons. At that time, knowing well that his father would not give the kingdom to him, a Sūdra's son, jealous Maurya created treacherous rupture between every one of the nine Nandas. Split up by Maurya's words, all of them quarrelled, each claiming the kingdom for himself. Rāksasa then said that the kingdom must be divided into nine parts and given to all of them. Thereupon

Maurya secretly instigated them individually, one against the other, consequently all of them quarrelled, every one asking for himself the capital Pātalipura. Again, Rāksasa suggested to them that by turns, each might rule over the city and the kingdom for one year, and again, as a result of Maurya's instigation, they quarrelled, each desiring his turn to be the first. Concluding within himself that all this was the doing of Maurya, Rāksasa pacified them and told them "When you fall out like this, the kingdom will become vulnerable hence you should not quarrel, we shall cast lots and let him rule first who draws the first year." Rāksasa counselled thus and did accordingly. That kingdom which was thus many-headed Rāksasa managed somehow to safeguard with the strength of his intellect. To Maurya he gave the place of the Commander of the army. Despite this arrangement Maurya, the father of hundred sons and one in the full know of the weak points, was only creating internal troubles for the nine Nandas.

The Nandas and Rāksasa therefore came to the conclusion that Maurya was their secret enemy and that he must therefore be done away with. To that purpose, that got ready an underground council chamber and there every day if there were important items of state work, the Nandas together with Maurya and his sons, and Rāksasa and the other ministers held secret consultations. One day a messenger from Rāksasa called at the residence of Maurya and said in a hurry "Sir, there is some very important state business." Rāksasa and the

kings are in the counsel chamber for discussing it and summon you to be there quickly with your sons ; you must therefore come soon." Maurya heard it, believed it to be true and excitedly entered that underground hall. The very next moment after their entry, the entrance to the hall was blocked fast by the royal servants, with mud, wood etc. Entering in, they saw not the king, Rāksasa or anybody else, but saw there in a hundred and one dishes daintily dressed food and sauce for eating, as also an equal number of lamps. Thereupon Maurya told his sons "Alas ! we have all been duped by Rāksasa and others, fools though they are ; who can surmount the dictates of Fate ? What should be done now ? If somehow we could wreak vengeance on our enemies, fame will be ours, even though we die ; methinks, he lives happily whose fame stands in the world ; hence whosoever amongst you has courage, let him collect together the food in these dishes and the oil in these lamps and hold his life with them ; if by the course of Fate he finds his way out, he will take revenge on our enemies ; the rest of us shall die even now ; even otherwise our death tomorrow is certain ; let us die today itself ; what is the gain in dying tomorrow ?" Hearing the father's words, Candragupta alone said, "If Fate is favourable and I get out, I will annihilate these enemies." Then having blessed Candragupta, Maurya, along with ninety-nine sons, passed away in a few days. And maintaining himself on that store of food, and thinking of the time for getting out, Candragupta lived in that cellar itself.

At that very time a man from a king of another realm brought a cage with a lion, approached the Nandas and said 'If there is any clever person in this realm, let him drive out the lion within, without breaking the cage' All of them, Raksasa and others who listened to those words did not know of any means of driving the lion out in that manner At that juncture an old minister who was attached to Maurya said The last among the Maurya's sons, Candragupta is an adept in such acts, but what could be done now by thinking of that which is gone? Hearing those words of the old minister, hoping that Candragupta might be alive desiring to know what happened to Maurya and his sons and thanks also to the good luck of Candragupta the Nandas and Rāksasa opened the door of the underground counsel chamber Then, seeing Candragupta alive the ministers joyously approached him and said "The Kings call you, come Desirous though of getting out Candragupta told them My father my brothers, everybody is dead I, this unlucky man am still alive, my breath does not stop what is there for me to do before those kings? Here I am also going to breathe my last in a few days The kings themselves then came and consoled him in many ways, saying "Dear Candragupta be not afraid, come out we shall give you the position occupied by your father As if under pressure Candragupta came out of the cellar The Nandas showed him the lion in the cage and told him the matter pertaining to it Candragupta pondered over it well, 'The lion is of wax, its movements are mechani-

cally controlled ; and its heir is artificial." Having come to this conclusion, Candragupta made the lion melt with redhot iron rods. The kings were satisfied at this and thinking that if the command of the army was given to him, he would gradually destroy the army, they gave him authority over the dining hall. And Candragupta was attending to that work.

Candragupta was once standing outside the dining hall looking out for Brāhmaṇas. A Brāhmaṇa, young and effulgent, came at that time. As he was coming, a blade of grass pricked his foot and the Brāhmaṇa uprooted it, crushed it, mixed it with water and drank it. Wondering at that, Candragupta approached the Brāhmaṇa, bowed to him and asked "O ! Brāhmaṇa ! who are you ? why do you pound the grass and drink it ?" The Brāhmaṇa replied "Listen, I will tell you ; I am a Southerner, Cānakya by name ; this blade of grass wounded my feet ; if I do not pound it thus and drink it, my anger will not be allayed " Candragupta thereupon asked "Worshipful Sir, were a powerful king to do you wrong, what will you do then ?" Cānakya said "You do not know the strength of my intellect ; I am capable of vanquishing by my intellect alone a thousand or even a ten thousand kings ; let that be ; I hear there is a Śūdra (Vṛṣala) named Candragupta in charge of the dining hall of the Nandas ; where is he likely to be now ? I am extremely hungry now and I must go to him." Candragupta said "Worshipful Sir, I am Candragupta ; You can come and have

your food with pleasure" Cānakya then told him, "Oh Prince! as a result of my Brāhmaic nature, I called you Sūdra (Vṛṣala) though you are a prince, you must excuse this fault of mine" Candragupta said "Respected Sir, that you have called me Sūdra (Vṛṣala) is itself a blessing to me, and as long as I am alive I shall be the servant of your feet, and you must refer to me in the same manner" Having spoken thus, Candragupta started from the beginning and proceeding from one connected thing to another, narrated to Cānakya the trouble caused to him in a manner that Cānakya would take pity on him Having then showed Cānakya the way to the dining hall and having requested Cānakya to come and sanctify his own home too on his departure after the dinner, Candragupta went away to his house

Cānakya entered the dining hall There were ten gold vessels and hundred silver ones for taking food and on seeing them Cānakya asked those that were there "For whom are these vessels?" They replied "Of the golden vessels, nine are for the kings, one is for a Brāhmaṇa who knows all the branches of learning, and the other silver vessels are for other Brāhmaṇas" Cānakya seated himself in the seat of the Brāhmaṇa of learning The kings who came for dinner saw Cānakya and asked "Who is this beardless boy who is sitting in the first seat fit for a great scholar?" Cānakya said "Be I beardless or no, if there is any one my equal in learning, let him come forth" The Nandas then said "Throw out this haughty boy," and had him dragged away by their servants from that

seat. Dragged at that time in the midst of a concourse of people Cānakya untied his tuft of hair and swore in anger that he would tie his tuft after uprooting the Nandas and destroying them completely. The Nandas laughed that a hungry Brāhmaṇa was prattling something.

Cānakya came out proceeded to Candragupta's house, promised that he would kill the Nandas and give the kingdom to Candragupta, and told the latter everything necessary to be told in that connection. He then called a Brāhmaṇa classmate of his named Induśarman and told him what was necessary to be told for his purpose, he approached the Mleccha chief named Parvatakeśvara proclaimed before him his own capacity, informed him of the insult at the hands of the Nandas and his own vow and said 'If you come with your forces, and with my aid, destroy the Nandas I shall give you half the kingdom. Parvatakeśvara thought "This Brahmana appears to be clever and one who knows the secrets of the Nanda kingdom, if I get his assistance I can capture the entire Nanda Kingdom. Having decided thus Parvatakeśvara allied himself with Cānakya and made his forces ready for fighting the Nandas.

Meantime, that friend of Cānakya the Brāhmaṇa named Induśarman putting on the guise of a Jain monk and making himself known by the name of Jīvas ddhi approached Rāksasa, exhibited to him his proficiency in polity astronomy and incantation and stayed with him as his protégé. Rāksasa also thought "The Brāhmaṇa named

Cānakya departed with resolute enmity; and he will perhaps do black magic against us; we have a friend in this Jain monk Jivasiddhi; there is habitual enmity between Brāhmaṇas and Jain monks and hence this Jivasiddhi will counter the black magic and the rest which Cānakya will do." Having thought so, Rākṣasa became a thick friend of Jivasiddhi. Thus, as a result of the friendship with the chief person, Rākṣasa, all the army chiefs there came under the influence of Jivasiddhi. Once he secretly told Rākṣasa and others that in a particular month on a particular day, they would have some trouble; and raising on that very day an evil spirit and creating thereby fear in them, he told them that some Brāhmaṇa had raised an evil spirit against them, that he would put it down and that before him the worth of the Brāhmaṇas was nothing. He then put down that evil spirit by the mere wave of the bunch of peacock feathers in his hand. By this and other similar instances of his capability which had been proved true to their very eyes, greater became the confidence of Rākṣasa and others in him. What Jivasiddhi said, none did otherwise.

When matters stood thus, Jivasiddhi learnt through secret spies that on a particular day Parvatakeśvara was coming for a battle with the Nandas and went to the houses of the chiefs of the Nanda forces and told them individually and secretly "On the coming full moon day of the Vaiśākha month, the movement of planets is adverse to you; on that day there will be a big

battle for the king ; if you go for the fight on that day, you will die ; hence, you ought not to go ; let this be between ourselves and not be told to anybody." In this manner Jivasiddhi informed privately everyone of the ministers and soldiers individually and everyone of them took his words as true. When this was so, on the full-moon day of the Vaiśākha month, Parvatakeśvara and Cānakya, with huge Mleccha forces, besieged Pāṭalipura. Rāksasa ordered all his commanders to fight but all of them owing to the faith in the Jain monk's words, concluded that they would die if they went forth for battle on that day and did not proceed to the fight. The nine Nandas and Rāksasa, with a few soldiers, issued out of the city and fought the Mlechhas. Thereupon owing to the meagre numbers on their side, the nine Nandas were killed by the numerous forces of Parvatakeśvara which were being assisted by the brain power of Cānakya. Owing to his own exceeding prowess and the (planned) neglect of Cānakya, Rāksasa alone was left unhurt.

Rāksasa, extremely dejected at the destruction of his masters, thought " Our masters, who like parents, protected us, and were most compassionate to those who resorted to them, all the nine of them died simultaneously through an accursed Fate ; if I too follow my master dying, like a woman, while the enemies are yet alive and no vengeance has been taken, I will become the object of ridicule by the people ; I being single, the enemies who are numerous, cannot be vanquished by the fourt' : expe-

dient namely war hence, they must be gradually vanquished by the strength of my intellect by vanquishing them and establishing in the kingdom the old Sarvīrthasiddhi himself the ancestor of our master's family as king I must free myself from the debt of having eaten long at the hands of my masters Having resolved thus Rakṣasa hid his jealousy within himself and made peace with Candragupta Cīnākyā and Parvatakeśvara He went to Candragupta bowed to him and said ' Fortunately you have become the king of this kingdom to us you are also a son of our Lord (Sarvīrthasiddhi) and the Nandas too were sons of our Lord Having received Candragupta's congratulation (for this sentiment) Rakṣasa once approached Parvatakeśvara in private and seduced him This Candragupta is a Sudra offspring and has no right to this kingdom therefore I shall kill him by a ruse and give you the entire kingdom and the Brahmana Cīnākyā repudiated by you will run away somewhere Parvatakeśvara accepted all that Rakṣasa said and between Parvatakeśvara and Rakṣasa special friendship developed

Cīnākyā on his part found out by the power of his intellect the intention of Rakṣasa he thought Even though we have secured victory we cannot quickly enter the city of Pīṭalipura Rakṣasa might have designed some means to kill us through some ruse therefore we must enter the city after clearing the city of all that danger further I have told Parvatakeśvara previously that for his aid in the war I would give him half the

kingdom, and he has to be killed by some deceitful means ; otherwise the gift of the entire kingdom which I have promised to Candragupta would not be fulfilled." Having thought thus, Cāṇakya stayed for some days outside the city together with Candragupta and Parvatakeśvara watching the doings of Rākṣasa through spies.

At this juncture Rākṣasa asked the Jain monk some means to kill Candragupta secretly ; and the Jain monk told Rākṣasa "I shall create an evil spirit in the form of an extremely beautiful woman of youthful form ; if a man enjoys her but once, the spirit kills him that very moment and also herself disappears " Having said so, the monk created the poison-damsel and gave her to Rākṣasa. Deciding that with that damsels Candragupta could be killed, and with his desire almost fulfilled, Rākṣasa came to Candragupta in the night with the damsels, when Candragupta, Cāṇakya, and Parvatakeśvara were sitting together in the hall ; he told Candragupta "My Lord ! a gem of a woman in youth, of beautiful form, is in my possession and I have brought her to my Lord's presence considering her as being proper for my Lord." Saying thus, Rākṣasa presented that damsels. Candragupta and Parvatakeśvara saw her and became infatuated with love. Cāṇakya had already learnt from the Jain monk about the poison-damsel. Deciding that he must have Parvatakeśvara, the depriver of half of their kingdom killed, he told Candragupta " It is not proper for you to enjoy this gem of a women without first offering her to Parvatakeśvara your great

benefactor On the word of Cānakya Candragupta too agreed to that

Parvatakeśvara took the damsel entered the bedroom with supreme joy and was killed while in sport with her I began something but it resulted in something different, endeavouring to kill Candragupta I killed my friend Parvatakeśvara who was as claimant to half of the empire Candragupta's adversary owing to my ignorance and hastiness I did not inform Parvatakeśvara previously of this matter now, finding in the morning Parvatakeśvara dead and the poison damsel disappeared, the accursed Candragupta will put an end to me with terrible punishment hence I must run away from this place in the night itself and having run away I must make effort to uproot Candragupta by some means or other Having resolved thus Raksasa entered the city despatched Sarvārthasiddhi to the forest in the guise of a recluse enjoined Dāruvarman and other reliable friends to murder Candragupta by ruse kept there with a huge sum of money his most intimate friend a Kāyastha named Sakata dāsa for the purpose of setting Daruvarman and others in action entrusted his own family wife children and others to Candanadasa a leader of the jeweller's community and fled

On the next morning those in Candragupta's camp finding Parvatakeśvara not come out of the bedroom broke open the door and found that Parvatakeśvara was dead and the damsel had disappeared Then appearing to be dejected that their

benefactor and friend Parvatakeśvara had been maliciously killed by Rākṣasa, Cāṇakya commanded the spies "Where is this villain Rākṣasa ? Capture him". The spies searched for Rakṣasa and informed Cāṇakya that Rākṣasa had fled in the night itself and was not to be found. Cāṇakya thought "Parvatakeśvara who was to have deprived us of half of the kingdom has been killed deceitfully ; but his son Malayaketu and brother Vairodhaka are still there, and the half kingdom already promised has to be given to those two ; hence the killing of Parvatakeśvara has resulted only in the calumny of betrayal ; but if therefore I try to kill them too, I shall only be firmly establishing the great ignominy that out of avarice for the kingdom it was Cāṇakva who murdered even his best friends ; Malayaketu must be made to return to his own country through some advice or other given by Bhāgurāyaṇa who must be first made to establish his feigned friendship with Malayaketu ; and I shall keep Vairodhaka here and afterwards think of some means to put an end to him." Having decided thus, Cāṇakya set Bhāgurāyaṇa to separate Malayaketu.

Bhāgurāyaṇa secretly explained to Malayaketu who was stricken with the grief of his father's death "Prince ! this Cāṇakya is a thoroughly ungrateful man ; he first sought the aid of king Parvatakeśvara with the promise of half the kingdom and when all the enemies had been uprooted completely by king Parvatakeśvara who had trusted Cāṇakya's words, Cāṇakya, that

damned betrayer of friend, unwilling to give half the kingdom, killed king Parvatakeśvara by a ruse; if, after this you stay here even for a moment, I do not know what harm Cānakya will try to do you, therefore, as one alive can come by many chances of good fortune you go to your country and think of the ways to wreak vengeance on this brat of a Cānakya ' On hearing this, that very moment Malayaketu went away to his country with his armies Vairodhaka however, comforted by Canakya, continued to live there, greedy as he was of half the kingdom

Rāksasa, who had fled earlier heard of Malayaketu's desertion, resorted to him and promised him "The wicked Cānakya fie upon him, has wantonly destroyed the family of my masters, I do not mind even that, but our great friend Parvatakeśvara has been killed by him deceitfully, I shall uproot Candragupta along with Cānakya and crown you Malayaketu knew Rāksasa's powers, accepted his proposal and appointed Rāksasa as his Chief Minister There were five kings under the control of Malayaketu Cītravarman king of the Kaulūtas Śimhanāda the king of Malaya, Puskarāksa king of Kāśmīra, Sindhusena king of the Sindhu country and Meghāṅka the king of Pārasīka Rāksasa and Malayaketu told them " We must vanquish Candragupta with your aid and then we shall give you Candragupta's territory, elephants, horses, etc They agreed and remained there mobilising their forces, seeing the wonderful qualities of Rāksasa they also became specially attached to him

Staying there with them, Rākṣasa was egging on his friends at Pāṭalipura, Jivasiddhi and others, for doing away with Cāṇakya and Candragupta. When things were like this, Cāṇakya called all the artists and architects of Pāṭalipura and ordered them "Astrologers have fixed an auspicious time this night for Candragupta's entry into the palace; you must therefore quickly decorate the way to the city gate." They replied "Sir, guessing about the forthcoming entry of Candragupta into the palace of the Nandas, the architect Dāruvarman has already decorated the gate-way to the royal mansion with gilded arches etc; we must do the decorations in the interior." On hearing that, Cāṇakya began seriously to suspect that out of mental delusion or of exceeding devotion to the enemy, Dāruvarman had decorated the palace gate without waiting for the time of order; as if pleased, Cāṇakya told the artisans aloud "Dāruvarman! You shall soon get the fruit proper for this dexterity of yours." Then Cāṇakya made the artisans and citizens understand that in accordance with the propitious moment, Candragupta's entry into the palace of the Nandas would take place at midnight; and at that very moment, he seated Vairodhaka, brother of Parvatakeśvara in the same seat with Candragupta and divided the kingdom between them; then with the entry of Candragupta into the palace of the Nandas already announced, Vairodhaka, who had been anointed, entered the mansion of the Nandas, followed by the royal entourage which used to follow Candragupta, mounted with Cāṇakya's permission on the

female elephant named *Candralekhā* which used to carry Candragupta, and with an appearance not recognised even by those most familiar, his broad chest shining with fragrant garlands thrown across, his beautiful crest fastened with a jewel diadem, and his body covered with a gem set, multicoloured garment worked with designs of rows of pure pearls. When Vairodhaka was thus entering the palace, the architect Dāruvarman, who had been instigated by Rāksasa, took him to be Candragupta and set the machine-arch ready to be brought down upon Vairodhaka. Meanwhile, with their horses held up, those of Candragupta's retinue who were following, stopped, Candragupta's *mahout* who had been instigated by Rāksasa wanted to kill Vairodhaka mistaking him for Candragupta and took hold of the golden staff hanging from his belt of golden chain, desirous of drawing out the dagger kept within the golden staff, imagining thereupon that the *mahout* was going to strike her on the rear with the staff, the female elephant took to a different gait in great speed, Barbaraka who had drawn out the dagger to kill Vairodhaka under the impression that it was Candragupta, was, without even getting at Vairodhaka, killed by the machine-arch, which fell out of target, having been set and released in accordance with the first gait of the elephant. Dāruvarman understood that the fall of the machine-arch was going to result only in his own death, quickly got upon the high arch, drew out the metal rod fastening the machine-arch, threw down the arch, and killed poor Vairodhaka even

as he was sitting on the elephant. Then Dāruvarman also was stoned to death by the footmen in Vairodhaka's retinue. Having thus done away with Vairodhaka who was to have taken away half the kingdom, and also Dāruvarman, who wanted to kill Candragupta, Cānakya entered the palace of the Nandas accompanied by Candragupta without a single hurt.

After this, a royal doctor, Abhayadatta by name, who was a friend of Rāksasa gave a medicine to Candragupta. Cānakya, who was seeing that, found that the medicine produced a different colour in a gold vessel, and told Chandragupta that the medicine contained poison and must not be taken. The doctor himself was then made to take that medicine and die. At the same time, Pramodaka, who was attending on Candragupta at his bedside and who had been instigated by Rāksasa to kill Candragupta secretly, began to spend lavishly and enjoy himself with the huge riches previously given to him by Rāksasa, called by Cānakya and asked wherefrom he got so much wealth. He made many conflicting answers. Pramodaka was then put to death by torture. Bibhatsa and others who were employed by Rakṣasa to kill Candragupta in sleep had in advance got into an underground passage in the interior of the bedroom and were living there, entering the bedchamber before Candragupta's entry. Cānakya examined the chamber, he then saw a row of ants issuing out of a hole in the wall with particles of food, and understanding that the chamber was already inhabited by men in concealment, he ordered the chamber

itself to be burnt ; when it was being consumed by flames, Bibhatsa and others perished in the fire, with their sights obstructed by smoke and unable to trace the exit previously laid out.

From that time Cāṇakya was a thousand times more careful. He sent out spies in various guises to find out the friends of Rākṣasa living in Pāṭaliputra and to know what kind of harm would come from whom. At the same time Cāṇakya thought about the wonderful prowess of Rākṣasa, his mastery of statecraft, and the firmness of his devotion to his masters, and deliberated within himself : " I must make an effort to establish Rākṣasa himself in the office of minister, to Candragupta ; otherwise there can be no stability to Candragupta's kingship ; having established him so, and fulfilled my vow, I must go to the hermitage to do penance as before ; and Rākṣasa, owing to his exceeding devotion to his old masters, will never come to terms with us ; he, like a wild-elephant has therefore to be caught through a ruse ; first of all, he cannot be made to accept the ministership of Candragupta so long as even a single member of the Nanda line is alive ; but he can be rendered incapable of action in the matter of attacking Candragupta." Having thought like this, Cāṇakya put an end to Sarvārthasiddhi of Nanda's family who was a recluse in a hermitage, and was searching for some means to capture Rākṣasa.

Candragupta performed on the permission of Cāṇakya the obsequies of Parvatakeśvara and

presented the very valuable ornaments previously worn by Parvatakeśvara to the three brothers, Viśvāvasu and others sent by Cānakya Calling secretly the brothers who had received the ornaments, Cānakya asked them to go to Malayaketu's camp, sell them to Rāksasa and return The brothers went accordingly and showed the ornaments to Rāksasa Without knowing that they were Parvatakeśvara's ornaments but finding them to be highly valuable and available for sale, Rāksasa gratified the brothers by paying a huge price and kept those ornaments in his treasury

Of the spies of Cānakya, one Nipunaka by name had taken the scroll depicting the scenes of hell with which one could enter another's house without being suspected, and while going about house after house inculcating Dharma and begging, he entered once the house of Candanadāsa, the chief of the jewellers, living in Pātalipura He spread there the pictures of hell and was singing songs of Dharma When he was singing, a boy about five years of age and of very graceful appearance, heard the songs and with eyes broad with curiosity, issued out of an inner apartment Upon that, a great uproar by women arose from the midst of the inner apartment "Ah, he has gone out, he has gone out" Among them, a very beautiful woman, with her face slightly visible at the door, stretched out her hand and quickly disappeared inside with the boy, and from her slender fingers busy in restraining the boy from going out, a ring made to the size of a male finger slipped down revolved and reached the foot

Nipunaka The lady did not know the slipping of that ring Nipunaka took the ring, read upon it the name of Rāksasa and came to the conclusion that the ring was Rāksasa's, that that woman from whose hands the ring slipped was Rāksasa's wife, that the boy was Rāksasa's son and that undoubtedly Rāksasa had entrusted his wife, son and others to his great friend Candanadāsa and left the city Nipunaka went to Cānakya with the ring, gave it to him and told him the whole story

Cānakya was overjoyed at the gain of that ring, and resolving that Rāksasa must be caught with that very ring, he wrote some letter. He then called Siddhārthaka who had been made to keep a feigned friendship with Sakatadāsa, a beloved friend of Rāksasa, gave him the letter and ordered "In these words somebody must himself say something to somebody else, tell Sakatadāsa like that and ask him to write this letter without the address and come to me with that letter, do not tell him that Cānakya asked him to write" Siddhārthaka had the letter written accordingly by Sakatadāsa and showed it to Cānakya Cānakya sealed the letter with Rāksasa's ring, gave both the letter and the ring to Siddhārthaka and told him 'I desire to send you on a mission to be done by a trusted person and in that work you must justify your name Siddhārthaka (one whose object is achieved), Sakatadāsa will be taken to the stake on the orders of the king, you must go there in advance and give the executioners the sign of an angry wink of your right eye, and when at that time, they run helter skelter in apparent fright, you

must take away Śakaṭadāsa from the stake to Rākṣasa; from Rākṣasa, who will be pleased at the saving of his friend's life, you must accept a present; you must serve Rākṣasa for some time; and then, when our forces are near the enemy, you must do *this* service." So saying, he whispered something into the ear of Siddhārthaka. This and the meaning of the letter previously mentioned will both become clear afterwards.

Siddhārthaka agreed to do so, saluted Cāṇakya and departed. Cāṇakya then decreed "The Jain monk Jivasiddhi, who at the instigation of Rākṣasa, killed Parvatakeśvara with the poison-damsel, let him be proclaimed for this same crime and be banished from the city in ignominy; the other man, the writer known as Śakaṭadāsa, who at the instigation of Rākṣasa is attempting always on our life, let him also be proclaimed for this crime and impaled; and let the members of his family be imprisoned." Cāṇakya then sent for the chief of the jewellers, Candanadāsa. As soon as he was called by Cāṇakya, Candanadāsa sent Rākṣasa's family elsewhere through Dhanasena and others who were in his house, and then came to Cāṇakya. Though he was requested by Cāṇakya to surrender the family of Rākṣasa left in his house, Candanadāsa only denied their staying in his house. Cāṇakya was thence extremely infuriated and ordered Durgapāla "This Candanadāsa has brought over to his house Rākṣasa's wife, and does not give her up even if we entreat him; therefore confiscate his household belongings and keep him along with his wife and son in custody until

I inform Candragupta so that the king himself may decree his capital punishment" Durgapūla took the order and departed with Candanadāsa Candanadāsa on his part was without any fear at losing his life owing to his devotion to the cause of his friend Rāksasa Cānakya thought "Even as this man gives up his life as if it is not dear to him when there is danger to that man, even so will that man's life be not dear to him when this man is in danger, therefore Rāksasa is now secured"

The Jain monk banished in disgrace from the city went to Rāksasa and stayed with him as before Siddhārtaka went away taking Sakatadāsa too in the manner already described Cānakya heard of this and, though pleased at heart appeared outwardly to be very angry, and as if sent by him to capture Sakatadāsa, Bhīgurāyana, Bhadra-bhaṭa, Purusadatta Dingarāṭa, Balagupta, Rājasa-na, Rohitākṣa and Vijayavarman, all of whom had already been secretly commissioned by Cānakya ran away to Malayaketu's camp Of this also Cānakya heard, put on much fury, and said that he would round up all of them He was certain that Rāksasa was now caught

Meanwhile a spy of Rāksasa, Virādhagupta by name, in the guise of a snake charmer enquired of the entire news of Pātalipura from the time of Rāksasa's exit up to the taking away of Sakatadāsa to the stake, returned to Malayaketu's camp and informed Rāksasa Rāksasa heard of the killing of Dīruvarman and others and grieved over it Hearing of the impalement of his beloved friend

Śakatadāsa, Rākṣasa was plunged into deep sorrow and he shed profuse tears. At that very moment Śakaṭadāsa along with Siddhārthaka approached Rākṣasa and saluted him. Looking upon Śakaṭadāsa as if he was released from death's own mouth and as if he was born again, Rākṣasa rose up in haste, embraced him and asked by whom he was saved from impalement. "By this dear friend, Siddhārthaka, I was saved from the Death's mouth of Cāṇakya and brought to you, Revered Minister!" So saying Śakaṭadāsa pointed out Siddārthaka. Rāksasa gave Siddhārthaka as presents the ornaments which he was himself wearing at that

come to another's hand? , and asked Good Siddhārthaka, wherefrom did you get this ring? . Siddhārthaka replied There lives in Pātalipura a leader of the jewellers named Candanadāsa this ring was lying at his door and I got it Rālśasa thought it possible gratified Siddhārthaka with a big prize for the ring took it and then gave it back to him with the words that in future he should act in his capacity with the seal of that ring Siddhārthaka agreed, took back the ring and was observing the duties of his post

With the secret permission of Cānaka, Bhāgurāyana left Pātalipura and went over to Malayaketu Out of gratitude that Bhāgurāyana saved his life from Cānaka and out of friendship, Malayaketu placed Bhāgurāyana in authority next to himself, and Bhāgurāyana was awaiting the time to create a split between Rālśasa and Malayaketu Bhadrabāṭa and others who had run away from Pātalipura sought Malayaketu's audience through Malayaketu's commander Silha rālā Malayaketu took them to have deserted Cānaka and come there, and placed them in offices suitable to each like the command of the army of the elephant corps of the calvary and so on Rālśasa on his part strove to create a split between Cānaka and Candragupta and began sending spies for that purpose to Pātalipura

When things stood thus Cānaka privately told Candragupta You must carry on for some time without me you must enact even such things as transgression of my command thereby

there is some purpose to be achieved by us." Candragupta reluctantly accepted to do so. Then at the beginning of autumn once, Candragupta ordered his citizens that the Kaumudi Mahotsava (great festival of moonlight) must be celebrated in the city; the citizens were supremely happy; but Cāṇaṇya, on hearing that, prohibited the citizens that the festival of moonlight ought not to be celebrated. Angry then on looking at the city without the festival, Candragupta learnt that the festival was prohibited by Cāṇakya; he called Cāṇakya and asked him "For what purpose, Sir, have you cancelled the festival? Never has any move of yours, noble Sir, been without a purpose." Cāṇakya replied "Listen to me King! the writers on Polity describe three kinds of success: that dependent on the king, that on the minister and that on both; and what need to search for the purpose for you whose success is dependent on the minister?" Hearing this, Candragupta turned aside his face as if in anger. At this juncture, the minstrel instigated by Rākṣasa sang in praise of Candragupta "A master does not become one by merely putting on ornaments etc.; one like you whose command is not ignored by others is said to be the real master." Cāṇakya heard this and understood Rākṣasa's strategem in it. Candragupta ordered ten thousand gold pieces to be given to that minstrel; Cāṇakya said that it should not be given; "Wherefore is this huge expenditure of money incurred for an unworthy purpose?". Candragupta said "With my actions obstructed by you on all sides, I do not relish this

kingship which is like fetters to me" Cānakya said "Such defects do affect kings who are not themselves at the helm of affairs" If, therefore, you cannot put up with the situation, you yourself take charge of the affairs" Candragupta said "Here, I shall myself attend to my office" Cānakya said "It is to my welfare, I shall also attend to my own duty" Candragupta asked "If so, I desire to know the purpose of cancelling the Kaumudi Mahotsava" Cānakya retorted "I also desire to know the purpose of observing the Kaumudi Mahotsava" Candragupta said "First of all, your veto of my command" Cānakya said "My first purpose of the cancellation is also the overriding of your order, if you want to know the second purpose also, I shall tell you having known our vulnerable points through Bhadrabhata and others who had deserted us and resorted to him, and listening to the advice of Rāksasa, Malayaketu, surrounded by the vast army of Mleccha chiefs, is ready to attack us in his anger at the murder of his father, this is time for military exercise, not for festivals; when we have started the work of setting aright the forts, what for is the Kaumudi Mahotsava? Hence did I stop the festival"

Candragupta said "Sir, there are many things that I have to ask" Cānakya said "Ask without hesitation, there is much that I must tell you" "I shall ask now" said Candragupta "I shall tell you" said Cānakya Candragupta asked "That Malayaketu who is the root cause of all this trouble for us,—wherefore was he ignored when he fled?" Cānakya said "Two courses were possible

if Malayaketu's flight was not to be ignored: his detention or the gift of half the kingdom already promised; by his detention we would have only ourselves accepted the guilt of the ungrateful killing of Parvatakesvara; by giving the promised half of the kingdom, the death of Parvatakesvara would have borne only one fruit, namely, ingratitude; hence was the fleeing of Malayaketu ignored." Candragupta said "Let this be so: Rākṣasa was staying here within the city itself and he was ignored by you; what reply have you for that?". Cāṇakya replied "Owing to his steadfast devotion to his masters, the late Nandas, and owing to his long stay in this very place, Rākṣasa is in the position of one enjoying the supreme confidence of the subjects still attached to the Nandas; further he is a person endowed with brain and heroism; if he stays within the city, equipped with friends as well as money, he will foment an internal revolution; if kept away, he could be tackled even if he brings trouble from outside; hence was he ignored while fleeing; if we overpower and capture him, he will slaughter our forces or will himself perish; if that happens, all this effort we have taken to bring him round will be futile." Candragupta said "I am not able to score over you in speech; but I must say, in all respects, Rākṣasa is indeed superior." Cāṇakya said "Not you, is, I suppose, the rest of the sentence! What has Rākṣasa done?". Candragupta: "What have you done, Sir?". Cāṇakya: "I uprooted the Nanda with his family and established you in the kingdom" Candragupta: "This was done by Fate which was

inimical to Nanda's family." Cāṇakya: "Fools rely on Fate." Candragupta: "And wise men do not brag."

On hearing that, Cāṇakya feigned great anger; subduing his anger again, he said, "You, Śūdra! If Rāksasa is more praiseworthy than me, here, take back this sword," and throwing the sword, he retired to his residence. Candragupta ordered it to be proclaimed in the city that he was himself carrying on his state duties, ignoring Cāṇakya, and retired to his inner apartments. And the whole of this episode became known to Rāksasa through Karabhaka.

When matters stood thus, Malayaketu once asked Bhāgurāyaṇa "My friend, Bhāgurāyaṇa! Bhadrabbata and others who came over to me told me that they sought me not through minister Rāksasa, but having deserted Candragupta who was under the influence of an evil minister, they were approaching me through my commander Śikhara-sena; though I have been exercising my mind since then, I do not grasp their intention in saying so; what is the reason for resorting to a different medium of introduction, leaving off Rāksasa, our greatest benefactor and friend?". Bhāgurāyaṇa thereupon said 'Prince, it is like this: Rāksasa's fury is only towards Cāṇakya, and not towards Candragupta; if perchance Candragupta, unable to put up with the haughty Cāṇakya, repudiates him, Rāksasa may make peace with Candragupta out of devotion to him as a member of the Nanda family and out of consideration for the release of

his friends in detention in the capital; if it is so, you will not trust Bhadrabhaṭa and others too; this intention of Bhadrabhaṭa and others is plain indeed." Malayaketu listened to this and accepted it as proper. Later, when Malayaketu heard the news that Candragupta, seduced by Rāksasa's spies like Stanakalaśa and others, had repudiated Cānakya, what Bhāgurāyaṇa told became reinforced in the mind of Malayaketu. Thereafter, though suspicious of Rāksasa, Malayaketu appeared, for the sake of his own purpose, to have the same confidence in him.

Now, Malayaketu, Rāksasa and others started with their armies to besiege Pāṭalipura. Rāksasa ordered the five kings, Citravarman and the rest, to march in a ring round Malayaketu, and others, Magadhas, Gāndhāras and Yavanas, to occupy the army front and other places appropriate to them. As day by day Pāṭalipura was approaching, Rāksasa thought that the spies of Cānakya would deceitfully come and create internal dissensions in his camp and made the rule that persons could go out or come into their camp only with the stamp of his seal; and Bhāgurāyaṇa was entrusted with the granting of that seal (of permit).

At this juncture, the Jain monk Jivasiḍḍhi, appearing to have some disagreement with Rāksasa, went to Bhāgurāyaṇa, and requested for the seal (of permit) for going out of the camp. Bhāgurāyaṇa asked him the reason why he was going away leaving his intimate friend, Minister Rāksasa. Without telling the reason for his departure, Jivasiḍḍhi said that

he was going to some place where even the name of Rāksasa would not be heard and exhibited a great deal of anger against Rāksasa. Asked by Bhāgurāyana with some compulsion Jīvasiddhi told, as if with reluctance, "Unfortunately, I became Rāksasa's friend at first, at that time Rāksasa secretly raised the poison-damsel and killed Parvatakeśvara, Cānakya heard of this and banished me from the country, now too, Rāksasa, adept in statecraft, is beginning something like that by which I shall be banished from this world itself, hence, I have left Rāksasa and am determined to go away somewhere" Bhāgurāyana heard this and informed Malayaketu too. Thereupon Malayaketu decided that Rāksasa had killed Parvatakeśvara and resolved to kill Rāksasa. Remembering then the command of Cānakya that Rāksasa's life must be saved, Bhāgurāyana advised Malayaketu 'Prince! formerly when Sarvārthasiddhi was alive, Rāksasa wanted to crown him in the kingdom, and as Paivatakeśvara, even as Candra-gupta, was likely to take away the kingdom and was thus an enemy killed Paivatakeśvara, now that Sarvārthasiddhi has been killed, the basis for such enmity is no more present and I do not see any harm from Rāksasa, further, we can keep Rāksasa till we gain the Nanda kingdom and we can then retain or abandon him. As Bhāgurāyana was speaking thus, a man named Dīrghacaksus who was in charge of an army outpost brought Siddhārthaka bound on the back, having in his hand a letter sealed with Rāksasa's ring, but without the permit of Rāksasa's seal, and told Bhāgurāyana

"Sir, this man has been brought here, going out of the camp without getting your seal of permit." Bhāgurāyaṇa asked Siddhārtaka "Are you a newcomer or a servant of somebody here? Why do you go out of the camp without getting my seal?" Siddhārtaka replied that he was a servant of minister Rākṣasa and was going out without the seal owing to the importance of the work Bhāgurāyaṇa asked what that importance of work was which made him transgress the royal command, snatched the letter from his hand, and seeing it marked with Rākṣasa's ring, opened and read it as follows: "Hail! Somebody from somewhere informs some one in his place: By repudiating our enemy, the truthful person has shown his truthfulness; and now, by giving what has been previously promised to these friends of ours with whom a pact has been previously arranged, the person of truthful promise must carry out his promise; and they too, being so propitiated, will uproot their previous support and serve you; though this is not forgotten, I remind the truthful person; among them, some desire the enemy's treasure, some the elephants and still others, the territory; the three ornaments which were sent by the worthy person have been received; and I have also, as a compliment to the letter, sent something. The oral message is to be heard from Siddhārthaka who is one most reliable." Bhāgurāyaṇa then asked Siddhārthaka "Siddhārthaka! Whose letter is this? By whom is the oral message to be heard from you?" Siddhārthaka evaded by saying that he knew nothing, and Bhāgurāyaṇa

had him beat by servants As he was being beaten, the box of ornaments sealed with Rāksasa's ring fell from underneath his arm Malayaketu decided that the box of ornaments might be the compliment to the letter, opened it and saw the ornaments which he had taken out from his own body and presented to Rāksasa Then, coming to the conclusion that the letter had been sent by Rāksasa to Malayaketu, he beat Siddhārthaka again and asked him to give out the oral message. Siddhārthaka fell at Malayaketu's feet and prayed for security Malayaketu thereupon told him "Good man! There is certainly no danger to you, another's servant, but speak out the facts as they are" So asked by Malayaketu Siddhārthaka told everything "Prince, Minister! Rāksasa has given this letter and sent me to Candragupta, the oral message is that, of my five dear friends, Citravarman and the rest, two want the treasury and the elephants, the others desire the territory, therefore, just as I was favoured by dismissing Cānakya, His Majesty must give them also what has been already promised to them" On hearing this Malayaketu thought of the devotion of Citravarman and others towards Rāksasa, concluded that they too plotted against him, and sent a servant to fetch Rāksasa On being called by Malayaketu, Rāksasa, having disposed of the ornament sent by Malayaketu, put on the ornaments purchased by him from Viśvāsā and others, and came to Malayaketu In his usual manner, Rāksasa informed Malayaketu the allignment of positions in the army made by him for the kings, Citravarman

and the rest. On hearing that, Malayaketu came to the conclusion that the very persons, Citravarman and the rest, who were out to propitiate Candragupta by destroying him, were made to encircle him in the army, and asked Rāksasa 'Sir! does any one now go to Pātalipura or come from there?' Rāksasa said 'There is no need now for anybody to be going to and fro, in a few days, we are ourselves going there.' Malayaketu asked "If it is so, why have you, noble Sir, sent a letter to Pātalipura through Siddhārthaka?" Rāksasa exclaimed 'Siddhārthaka! what is it?' Siddhārthaka then said with tears 'Being beat, I told the secret.' Though Rāksasa asked him what the secret was like Siddhārthaka remained silent, with his head bent down. Remarking that in front of his master, Siddhārthaka would not, out of fear or shame, speak out, Bhāgurāyana himself said 'Siddhārthaka says that Minister Rāksasa gave a letter and an oral message and sent him to Chandragupta' Rāksasa heard it and observed

Being beat he speaks falsehood, what will not a belaboured man say? . Thereupon Malayaketu said 'Bhāgurāyana! if it is so, show Rāksasa the letter sealed with Rāksasa's ring' Rāksasa saw the letter and said that it was possible to forge the seal as well as the letter. Malayaketu then said "These jewels were sent by you, noble Sir as a compliment to the letter, how could these too be deceitful?" Rāksasa replied "These ornaments were not sent by me, but were given by me to Siddhārthaka as a present for some act" Bhāgurāyana said "Prince! how could it be believed that

ornaments of such a nature removed from your own body and given by you were presented to such a person (as Siddhārthaka) ? ', and he asked Siddhārthaka who wrote the letter Siddhārthaka looked at Rāksasa's face and stood silent and when he was beat again he said that Sakatadīsa wrote it Thereupon Rāksasa said that if Śakatadīsa had written it, it was as good as having been written by himself Bhāgurāyana said further that Sakatadāsa too would not accept in Rāksasa's presence that he himself wrote it and ordered a servant that a specimen of Sakatadīsa's writing and Rāksasa's ring be brought When the servants brought them, Rāksasa too saw the identity and concluded that it was Śakatadāsa himself who had joined the enemies and played that ruse Malayaketu then observed the three jewels of his father worn by Rāksasa and being certain that they were the three jewels mentioned in the letter and sent by Candragupta to Rāksasa, he asked Rāksasa 'Where were the three jewels got from?' "They were purchased from merchants" replied Rāksasa Malayaketu said 'Noble Sir! it is impossible that such ornaments which were worn by my father and which had, further, come to Candragupta were purchased from merchants" Rāksasa thereupon thought within himself " The enemy's strategem has been very conclusively laid for, I cannot reply that the letter is not mine, since the seal is mine, how is it to be believed that Sakatadīsa betrayed my friendship? Who will think it possible that King Candragupta sold ornaments? Therefore acceptance (of guilt) is

better, and not any ineffectual answer." Thinking thus, he remained silent. Malayaketu then told Rākṣasa "It is certain that having killed previously my father Parvatakeśvara, who had placed confidence in you, through the strategem of the poison-damsel, you are now endeavouring to do away with me also." When Rākṣasa denied that he did not direct the poison-damsel against Parvatakeśvara, they mentioned Jivasiddhi's name to him. Rāksasa concluded that his very heart had been captured by the enemy and stood dispirited. Malayaketu then looked at Rākṣasa and told him "I am not a traitor like you; by all means, go and make peace with Candragupta; I can uproot Candragupta, Cānakya and you together." He then ordered Citravarman and others also, who out of friendliness towards Rākṣasa desired to harm Malayaketu, to be killed. They were accordingly put to death. Rākṣasa went out all alone and thought: "Shall I repair to the penance grove? This mind nursing enmity will not become quiet by penance. Shall I follow my masters? To do so while yet the enemy is not dead is to act like women. Or shall I, with sword as my ally, plunge into the enemy's army? This too is not proper; if it is not ungrateful, my heart that is impatient to free Candanadāsa would prevent me from doing so. Therefore, Candanadāsa, best of my friends who, for my sake, cares not for his own life, must somehow be freed." Having decided thus, Rākṣasa came secretly to the dilapidated garden at the outskirts of Pāṭilipura.

After that, as Malayaketu's allies had all been removed, Bhāgurāyaṇa, Bhadrabhaṭa and others who had spread themselves all over the army, thought it to be the best moment, restrained Malayaketu and captured him.

At this juncture, Rākṣasa saw in the old garden of Pāṭalipura a man sent by Cāṇakya, trying to put an end to himself, and asked him why he was committing suicide. The man did not tell at first, but as a result of Rākṣasa's pressure told with some hesitation : "There is in this city, the chief of the Jewellers, Candanadāsa by name, who is a great friend of Minister Rākṣasa; there is a friend of his named Viṣṇudāsa; that Viṣṇudāsa is a dear friend of mine and he has now left the city to immolate himself in fire; thence counting the giving up of my life better than the bereavement of a friend, I began doing this." Informed thus by that man, Rākṣasa asked him "What is the reason for your friend Viṣṇudāsa endeavouring to put himself to death?". Displaying his dislike at the delay caused to him, the man said "This friend of Candanadāsa, named Viṣṇudāsa, unable to bear the detention of his friend Candanadāsa on account of Rākṣasa, went to Candragupta and sought the release of Candanadāsa by a payment of money; Candragupta told him that he had kept Candanadāsa under arrest not for the sake of money, but because Candanadāsa harboured the family of Rākṣasa and did not surrender them though entreated several times, and ordered a servant standing in front to put an end to Candanadāsa if he did not give up Minister

Rākṣasa's family ; even then Candanadāsa did not, out of his love for his friend, surrender the family of Minister Rākṣasa ; and Candanadāsa was taken to the place of execution ; thereupon my dear friend Viṣṇudāsa decided to die earlier than his dear friend, and went out of the city." Thus informed by the man, Rākṣasa said "Have no fears ; stop Viṣṇudāsa from entering the flames and I shall free Candanadāsa too from the fear of death." The man had some suspicion (that it might be Rākṣasa) and asked him who he was ; Rākṣasa gave his name. The man told Rākṣasa "Previously, one Śakaṭadāsa was taken to the place of execution on the behest of Candragupta, but Śakaṭadāsa was spirited away to a different part of the country by somebody ; upon that, Candragupta, who did not tolerate the transgression of his order, had all the executioners put to death ; from that time, all the executioners remain alert and carry out their duty ; you must therefore be quick." Listening to such words from that man, Rākṣasa wondered at the intellectual efficiency of Cāṇakya and thought : "This is not the proper time for the sword as the executioners had once been previously put to death (for negligence) ; a strategic move brings forth its fruit in a distant future and of what use is it here? Indifference is not proper when my dear friend is in a terrible danger which is of my own making ; well, I shall make this body of mine a recompense for this." Resolving therefore that he must rush soon to Candanadāsa's side, Rākṣasa came to the spot where Candanadāsa had been brought for execution.

whose endowments, we, his envious rivals, are not glad." On seeing Rāksasa, Cāṇakya bowed to him with regard, and Rāksasa said that Cāṇakya ought not to touch him, polluted as he was by the touch of the executioners. Hearing that, Cāṇakya informed Rāksasa all the plans laid by him so that Rāksasa might believe them. Cāṇakya said " Minister Rāksasa ! these two are not untouchable executioners; but one is Siddhārthaka whom you have seen previously ; and the other also is one in royal service named Samiddhārthaka ; Śakatadāsa too is by himself innocent and he was made to write that treacherous letter by me; this is an epitome of this matter: The servants Bhadrabhaṭa and others, that kind of letter, Samiddhārthaka, these three ornaments, your friend who appeared to be a Jain monk, this man in the old garden, the suffering of the merchant Candanadāsa, all these, O ! heroic man, are the manoeuvres employed by me who desired your alliance with Candragupta And here is Candragupta desirous of meeting you." On hearing this, Rāksasa had his suspicion about Śakatadāsa removed and though he did not agree to see Candragupta, he accepted to do so under pressure (of circumstances). Candragupta became aware of the happenings and was pleased at heart; greatly wondering at the adeptness of Cāṇakya in political strategy, Candragupta came forth with his retinue and made obeisance to Cāṇakya. Cāṇakya thereupon told Candragupta " This is your hereditary minister, Rāksasa, salute him ", and Candragupta did accordingly. Having given his blessings. Rāksasa thought within himself

thus "Even a fool of a minister is sure to be established in a position of fame by resorting to a proper and successful person, by resorting to an unworthy person, even the minister whose policies are faultless falls to the ground by the decay of his foundation, like a tree on the river bank."

Cānakya asked Rāksasa if he desired Candanadāsa to live, and Rāksasa replied "What doubt is there? Undoubtedly I desire that Candanadāsa should be alive, it is only for that that I have come" Cānakya said If Candanadāsa should live, take the sword, the emblem of the minister, if you do not take it, Candanadāsa is dead" On hearing these words of Cānakya, Rāksasa, who was swayed by his friendship towards his benefactor Candanadāsa, reluctantly accepted the ministerial sword Having achieved his purpose, Cānakya was immensely satisfied and Candragupta too considered himself as having realised his object Then a man came and informed Cānakya that Malayaketu, with his hands and feet bound, had been brought to the doorway there by Bhadrabhata, Bhāgurāyana and others, Cānakya told the man "I am not the minister now, Rāksasa is the minister, inform him" Told accordingly by the man, Rāksasa represented to Candragupta "King Candragupta! I had lived for sometime in Malayaketu's camp, therefore, for my sake, you must protect Malayaketu" So told, Candragupta looked at Cānakya, and Cānakya, for the sake of Rāksasa's satisfaction, told the man "On the representation made by the Minister, Rāksasa, King Candragupta grants Malayaketu his paternal

kingdom, let Malayaketu therefore go to his own country, let Bhadrabhata and others accompany him and return after establishing him in his kingdom. As the man was taking that message and going away Cānakya ordered him again 'Tell the Commander of the Forts, Vijaya, that the merchant Candanadāsa be made the head of all the jewellers in all the cities in the country, so does Candragupta command out of his affection for Rāksasa. Again, Cānakya told the man as he left with that message 'Except the elephants, let everything else in bonds be released, having carried out my vow I tie up my tuft. Ordered thus, Bhadrabhata and others departed with Malayaketu, Candanadāsa was made the chief of the jewellers community, and, after maling the king suitably honour all those who had helped them previously, Canakya left for the forest to practice austenities. Rāksasa became united with his wife, son and others, and lived happily, shouldering the ministerial responsibility and seeking the increasing good of the king. King Candragupta too as the emperor over all, protected the earth girdled by the four seas.

V

Other Versions of the Story

The slight differences between this account of Mahādeva and the account of Ravi Nartaka have already been set forth, and it has also been pointed out that these two versions of Mahādeva and Ravi, agree on the major facts of the story. Similarly,

the version given by Dhundhi as a perface to his commentary on the drama is also not different from Mahādeva's

V-(a-1)

Jagaddhara's Version

Jagaddhara, the well-known scholar on the dramas (A D 1300-1400)¹², has written a commentary on the *Mudrārāksasa* also, and a manuscript of it is available in the Madras Government Oriental MSS Library (R No 3768) His commentary opens with a short gist of the previous story which is as follows¹³

In the Somavamśa, there was the king Nanda who had his chief minister in Sakatāra. Once two Brahmins came to their capital with a desire to get money, and they were adepts in the art of entering others bodies. The King died of illness but soon his body got re-animated by one of these two Brahmins. The new re-animated king was not only free from the illness which proved fatal but was also very liberal. Sakatāra got suspicious on noticing this and ordered that if any dead body was seen anywhere outside the city, it must be burnt. The Brahman who had to remain in the King's body developed a dislike for Sakatāra who

12 See P. K. Gode Date of Jagaddhara J. of the Bom Uni. 2 1940 pp 116-125

13 I am thankful to Dr T. Sankaran Curator for supplying me with a copy of this introductory note in Jagaddhara's g'sa. The Sanskrit of this introduction is not good enough for Jagaddhara.

had burnt his body, and as a vengeance, he destroyed all the relations and associates of Śakaṭāra, thus leaving Śakaṭāra alone. Once the king saw a fruit of the Banyan tree being borne by urine and smiled, upon which a woman who was there smiled too. The King asked her if she knew why he had smiled and said that if she did not give the cause of his smile in two or three days, he would punish her. She went to Śakaṭāra who was an adept in divining others' minds and asked him. Śakaṭāra who was in deep grief at his bereavement asked her the circumstances of the smile, and explained to the woman that the King smiled at the fact that the fruit of such a huge tree as the Banyan was carried away by urine. The woman came to the King and told him the cause of his smile. The King however did not believe her to be capable of that intuition, and quite certain that Śakaṭāra must have solved the mystery for her, sent for him and made him his minister again.

After some time, Śakaṭāra, who did not forget the king's previous enmity, decided that he would bring an ugly Brahman boy and have the King uprooted. The King asked Śakaṭāra to find a Brahman for his father's Śrāddha. Śakaṭāra saw Cāṇakya pouring buttermilk to destroy the roots of some grass that had pricked his feet: Śakaṭāra found him also to be very ugly and very ingenious in brain and resolved to take him to the palace for the Śrāddha. He thought that if the King saw such a person and sent him out, Cāṇakya would become inimical, and with his crooked intellect, uproot the king. Things happened as Śakaṭāra

thought and Cānakya swore that he would tie up his tuft after uprooting the king. Having managed to set a powerful enemy against the king, Sakatāra retired to the forest to do penance.

Cānakya wanted to secure the kingdom for Candragupta whom Jagaddhara mentions as the brother-in-law of Nanda. The opposite side is represented by Rāksasa trying to install Malayaketu, son of Parvatakeśvara, on the throne. Rāksasa who is not previously mentioned is abruptly introduced here.¹⁴

14 Extract from Jagaddhara's Commentary on the Mudra Rāksasa (R 3-68 Madras Govt. Ori. MSS. Library)

इह सतु सोमवश नन्दा नाम राजा वभूव । तस्य च महाभन्त्रो शक्त्यारो वभूव । अथ देशान्तरादर्थार्थिनौ द्वी परमुपरप्रवेशानुशासौ क्रान्तिः तनगरीमागती । तत शदाचिन् भरणशरणे नन्दे तथोरेकेन साशरीरं नगरव्यहिरवस्थाव्य नन्दशरीरे प्रवेश हुत । अथ स शक्त्यारः कथमतिरोगवानपि निस्तीर्णो राजा, पूर्वदशात अतिदयादानादिगुणकान्, ततोऽन्विष्यता नगराद् यहि खुतक दद्यतां च तदित्यादित्यकान् । आदेशकारिणा च तच्छरीरे नगरव्यहिरेव दग्धे तस्यावस्थिति नन्दशरीर एव हुता । अथ तन नन्दवेषधारिणा राजा राज्य पालन दनदिक च शृतम् । अथ शक्तारेण भम शरीर नाशितम् अतलमपि समूलमुन्मूलविष्यामीति मनमि हृत्या शक्तारनात्मवसितम् (?) अन्वे तद्वर्ग्या विनाशिता । तत शदाचिन् नन्देन मूलत्वादमरे स्मूलप्रवाहे उक्तमन दद्युक्त फलनादोक्य दृसितम् । तददलोक्य वदाप नार्या तप्रत्यया दृमितम् । अथ 'त्वं पुतो दृमिताम्' इति नन्दन्तपैः ना पृष्ठ च नात्तर दत्तपता । ततो यदि द्वित्रिदन्त्यन्तरे त्या नात्तर दातव्यं, तदा सब शालि चारव्ये इति नन्देन मारदया । परमनाजिष्ठ शक्त्यारमनुसूत्य प्राणनाप्रस्थितस्यातिदु दद्यगपत्य शक्त्यारस्य स्थान प्रधानलाल त शृच्छति स्म महानन्दिन् । राजा तुतो राजा दृमितनिति । अथ शक्त्यारा रा भवत्तर पुष्टा । ता गापम्—

It may be noted that this account has much in common with that of Ananta Bhatta set forth below. Ananta Bhatta was later than Jagaddhara

V-(a-2).

A version in a Trivandrum Ms. of the Drama

In manuscript No 1559 in the Maharajah's Palace Library, Trivandrum, representing a copy of the *Mudārāksasa Nātaka*, we have a postscript

तद्दुन्वा राज्ञाराय (-र लाह) इमा-कथम् (कथ) इदं वटफलमति वहूल स) पिटनिसम्प्रमाणि ईदरो लघुनि मूलप्रव है त्वत इति ननाति निवाव राज्ञा हसितमिति । अपेदनाकर्म्म तथा राजस्थानमागत्य देदेवस्त्वेद हासनिनित्तनिति अथिनम् । ततो राज्ञा परमनोजिता अस्या न समवति, शक्तार एव परमार्थो कर्म्म सम्य इत्युस्त्वा शक्तार प्रशस्य तन्विष्य आर्नाव च निजमन्त्रिपदे अभिपिचक्षान् । तत विन्यता कालेन पूर्वेवरनुस्त्वत्य शङ्कारेण द्विविदुर्दिः (दुर्देव ?) इडु नानाम एन समूलमुन्मूलवानीति विनिततम् । तप्रान्तरे राज्ञा मधीयपिन्नभास्त्रार्थं पाव नादण कमधानीय देहीनि शङ्कारे नियुक्ते, चाणक्यस्य (?) पदतालं कुनार्दुरेण धतनिति रोपेण उशमूलपु मारणाव तक ददान चाणक्यमति- दुर्देवनमतिकुटिलनतिमवलाक्ष्य अमुनेव नन्तनम राजमुल नवानाति, यद्येननार्ज्ञमलाक्ष्य राजा वहि नारदेन् तदा वदवैरोऽपु कुतुदिः स समूलघात हसितवाति मद्वा शक्तारेण चाणक्य पामारमाहृत । धादव्याने प्रवेशितव्य । ततो राज्ञा उन एपु उक्तो निपिद्व इति वहि कारितः । तत चाणक्येन निन्दधर्षण- नदात्य नन्दधर्षण प्रनिश्चातम् । तद्वयपर्वन्त च शिता मुक्ता । अप्रान्तरे शक्तार- नन्दा जिनन्दित्यनपत्तम् दन जगान । चाणक्येन गर्भवरानवनन्दा नाप्रिताः (नागिना) चन्द्रगुमाय नन्दस्थालकान राज्य दातुमारव्य इत्येक पक्ष । अपरस्तु मन्त्रिराक्षसेन नस्त्रकेतु पर्वतेवरणुत्रो राज्ये मदा अभिपेक्ष्य इति प्रतिज्ञाय तद्वचित विधातुमारव्यमिति कथाकथन दस्तुनिर्दशत्वन कटाक्षयन् अष्टपदा नन्दा—॥

V-(a-3).

Ananta Bhatta's Version

Ananta Bhatta's version of the Pūrvapiṭhikā has many differences¹⁶ King Nanda, Sudhanvan by name, had nine sons, Udagradhanvan, Tīkṣṇadhanvan etc. through his chief queen Ratnāvali, and a son named Candragupta through a Dāsi. Candragupta was very precocious and consequently aroused his brothers' jealousy and suspicion. Once King Nanda went to the park to witness a festival, and was accompanied by a female chowrie-bearer named Sumaṅgalā. The King stopped under a Banyan tree and after a while suddenly smiled; seeing the king smile, the attendant also smiled. On seeing her also smile, the King ordered that she must find out within a day why he, the King, smiled and if she failed to do so, her life would be in danger. The poor attendant became desperate and went to the river that night to commit suicide. There she met a Brahman who enquired of the cause of her despair and when she told him that the circumstances of the king's smile were that the king was resting under a Banyan tree, and there was a row of ants carrying berries, the Brahman explained that the king, on seeing the small berries carried by the ants, thought of the Banyan tree, too big for even elephants to shake, which would grow out of them, and smiled. Sumaṅgalā told the king

16 See description in No 1654, R. L. Mitra's Notices, Vol IV. The information here is supplemented by details supplied by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja from the Bikaner Ms. and the summary given in Jivananda Vidyasagar's edition of the Drama.

why he smiled, and immensely pleased with her intuition, the king rewarded her. Sometime afterwards some enemy kings who wanted to attack Nanda desired to know the intellectual strength of Nanda and his ministers, and sent Nanda a small stick of Devadāru asking him to find out which end of the rod was the base and which the top. Neither Nanda nor his ministers were equal to this task. The King asked Sumangalā if she could again apply her ingenuity to this problem. She said that, even on the last occasion it was not herself but an old Brahman named Subuddhiśarman on the river bank who found out the cause of the smile, and that she would try if the Brahman was there. She went to the Brahman told him the problem awaiting solution and brought him to the palace. The Brahman found out the base and top of the rod by throwing it into water. The King, greatly pleased with the Brahman who revealed himself as a protege of the merchant Candanadīsa, made him his minister and friend. He then came to be known as Rāksasa owing to his fearless fighting.

Not long afterwards, the King passed away; but as his body was about to be cremated, it got re-animated. A certain recluse named Suvidya, previously a forest chief of the Vindhya region came to Ku-umapura with two pupils, Suśila and Bahūśruta, to find the money for paying fees to his teacher Nilakantha of Nepal. He was a Yogi who knew the art of entering another's body. Instructing one pupil to watch over his body till his return and another to approach him for riches in the

evening, Suvidya entered the King's body. Soon-after this the re-animated King was approached by the pupil for a gift of money and the King granted. Rākṣasa, who was watching all this, suspected the trick of *Para-kāya-pruṣṭa*, and went out on horse to find out if the body of the person who had entered the King's was to be seen anywhere. He found the body in the custody of two pupils, one of whom he had seen in the palace asking money of the King. Rākṣasa had the body cremated and the two pupils were thrown into the Ganges. Suvidya came to know of this, and mortified at the necessity to continue in the King's body, began to loathe Rākṣasa and favour minister Vakranāsa. Rākṣasa left the King and became the minister of Parvateśvara. A minister of the Nanda named Śakatāra had been in charge of the camp near the dominions of Parvatakeśvara; when he heard that one Subuddhi had become Nanda's minister, he left his camp duty and returned to the capital to be near the King.

Once the fake Nanda and this minister of his named Śakatāra went for a hunt and being tired and thirsty, they rested under a tree. The King asked the minister to bring some water, and when the minister reached a lake nearby, he saw in it a slab with two verses¹⁷ incised, saying that

17. (1) अत्युच्छ्रुते मन्त्रिणि पार्थिवे च etc., same as *Mudrā-rākṣasa* IV. 13.

(2) तुत्यावै तुत्यसामर्थ्यं नर्महं व्यप्ताविनम् ।
नर्धराज्यहरं भूत्यं यो न हन्यात् स हन्यते ॥

royal power could not balance itself on two, a King and a powerful minister, and that one had to be killed. The minister did not want the king to see the verses, and so turned the stone upside down. But the king also came there and as he was about to turn the slab over, the minister dropped a stone on the king and killed him. He hid the King's body under the slab, returned and reported that the King was lost in the hunt. Udagradhanvan, the eldest son of the real Nanda, was coronated.

One day, Udagradhanvan, while playing polo, noted the love of a bird towards its young one, and became very eager to know how exactly the late King was lost. He ordered that spies should bring information about it in three days. A spy, Karunākara by name, came upon a Tintrika who raised the goddess Bhadrakāli in a dead body and through her, got the entire story of how Sakaṭāra put an end to the King in the forest. Then, on the orders of the King Sakaṭāra and his wife and his six sons Sakaṭavarman, Viṭaṭavarman, Sumati, Mitragupta, Prakaṭāra and Viṭaṭāra were thrown into a cellar with a small supply of food and water. All of them perished except one son named Viṭaṭāra. Meantime, Rākṣasa took leave of Parvata-keśvara and came back to Kusumapura and the King took him as minister. Taking pity on young Viṭaṭāra the King and Rākṣasa released him. Rākṣasa enjoined upon Viṭaṭāra the duty of inviting Brahmins for Śrīddha. Viṭaṭāra met the eighty year old, ugly Viṣṇugupta, one of Śivagupta, who was angrily throwing sugar at

the roots of a stump of grass so that ants might gather and destroy its roots. On being questioned by Vikaṭāra, Viṣṇugupta said that his father, while going for bath had his foot pricked by grass and died, and that therefore, he was extirpating all grass from the face of the earth. Seeing that this Viṣṇugupta was of very hideous appearance and thinking that the King would certainly insult him by sending him away, and that very irate as he was, Viṣṇugupta would take vengeance on the King, Vikaṭāra who was nursing his grievance against the king, invited Viṣṇugupta to the Śrāddha. Viṣṇugupta went and was removed from his seat ; and with his tuft loose, he swore he would uproot the Nandas. We do not hear of Vikaṭāra any more. Cāṇakya called out whether any one was desirous of the kingdom. Maurya Candragupta, a son of Nanda Sudhanvan, along with Rājasena, Bhāgurāyaṇa, and others, followed Viṣṇugupta. They sought the alliance of Parvatakeśvara a student of Cāṇakya's work on polity, and besieged Kusumapura. Parvatakeśvara was promised half the kingdom. In the battle, the Nandas were killed and Candragupta obtained Kusumapura. Sarvārthasiddhi, who is mentioned as the King's paternal uncle's son, went away to the forest. Rākṣasa conspired with Parvatakeśvara and sent a poison-damsel against Candragupta but Cāṇakya saw to it that Parvatakeśvara was killed by the poison-damsel.

V-(a-4)

Another Version in a Bikaner Ms.

In the anonymous version in the other Bikaner Library Manuscript, three Kṣatriya queens bearing

three sons each and a non-Ksatriya wife bearing Candragupta are mentioned, in the manner of the note at the end of a Trivandrum manuscript of the play mentioned above Cītrasena of the Sūryavamśa and the Nandānvaya ruled at Pātali putra He had two queens, Sumati and Rambhāvati, by the first, the king had the son Virasena, and by the second Sarvārthasiddhi The latter retired to the forest and Virasena succeeded to the throne • Virasena had three queens Mādri, Māgadhi and Cārdyā, the first gave birth to the sons Śūrasena, Satyavrata and Srutadhvaja, the second to Nala, Karna and Bhīma, and the third to Rāma, Hariścandra and Dirghāyus, another a South Indian princess kept as a Dāsi by the king, gave birth to Candragupta

Virasena had three ministers Vairocana, Vakhrāṇa and Rākṣasa

In the course of his conquests, Virasena vanquished a Yavana king called Mahākāya of the Pārasīka country and made him his subordinate He is also referred to as Parvateśvara and his son is mentioned as Malayaketu

The incident of the hunt, the king's thirst, the slab with two verses lying in the pond—all this is given as in the Ananta Bhatṭa version with the difference that the minister figuring in the incident here is given as Vairocana

Śūrasena, the eldest son, succeeded Candra-gupta, the late King's last son by the Śūdra mistress, became jealous, and came to a pact with the Yayana king to do away with Śūrasena A

shepherd from the forest who was an eye-witness to the murder of the late King by Virasena came to the Capital for the Dipotsava and the Gokridā, and through a kinsman of his, informed King Śūrasena of the whole incident. Śūrasena thereupon favoured Rākṣasa and was thinking of some means to kill Vairocana. He himself went to the forest pond and verified the truth of the shepherd's account. Vairocana and his family were thrown into a prison with a meagre ration of food and drink. Leaving the last son, the rest of the family perished.

Sometime afterwards, as an act of merit during his illness, the king released Vairocana's boy. The famished boy was treated, fed and entrusted first with the garden, then with Dānādhikāra and then with Bhojanādhikāra. Asked once to invite Brāhmans for the New Moon day, he brought an old Naiṣṭhika Brahmacārin, ugly, irate, and engaged in pouring gruel at the dug-out roots of grass. The story then follows as in the other versions; in the battle for Kusumapura, Cāṇakya is said to have used incantations, Mantras¹⁸.

V-(a-5).

One More Version.

In a Bengal edition of 1922 from Nakipur of the *Mudrārāksasa* published with a commentary by Haridāsa Siddhāntavāgiśabhaṭṭācārya, we are given the following story: The Śūdra King Mahāpadma Nanda had nine sons named Nandas

by queen Ratnivahī and one son named Candra gupta Maurya by a barber woman named Murā Candragupta Maurya was the eldest and the best son but he was held in contempt by his brothers Mahāpadma Nanda had a cousin named Viśvaketu whom he appointed governor of a North Western province of his Viśvaketu's son Malaya ketu was staying in Pātaliputra Mahāpadma had three ministers Rākṣasa Vakranāsa and Śakatīra For burning a live man under the mistake of a corpse Śakatīra was punished by the king by being confined with family in an underground cellar with a little ration of food and water While his family perished Śakatīra managed to live the king took pity on him rescued him and made him a minister again Once Śakatīra met the ugly Cīnakya, a scholar from Takṣaśilā pouring butter milk at the root of the grass that had pricked him on the eve of his marriage and impeded the function Cānakya was so angry that he was doing so to destroy the grass completely Finding him to be irascible enough to take terrible vengeance and ugly enough to be insulted by the king Viśvātīra invited Cīnakya to the Śrīddha at the palace There Cānakya was as expected insulted by the king and he swore that he would tie his tuft after destroying the Nandas Cīnakya called out for the person who wanted the kingdom and Candragupta presented himself Some other persons Bhadra bhāṭa etc joined the two and they sought Parvatakeśvara's alliance Cīnakya practiced a black rite as a result of which the Nandas perished after six months from then

V-(a-6)

From quotations in the commentary of Abhinavagupta on the *Nātyaśāstra*, the *Abhinavabhāratī*¹⁹, we come to know that we had, besides Viśālakhadatta's *Mudrārālasya*, another important drama on the same story of Cānakya's Vow named *Pratijñācānakya* composed by Mahākavī Bhīma. From one of the citations made by Abhinavagupta, we glean that corresponding to Malayaketu we had in this drama of Bhīma the character Vindhyaaketu, dealt with as a *Sakāra*²⁰. If this drama comes to light, it may explain some of the threads in the varying versions of the story noticed above.

V-(b-1).

The Puranic Version

The Siśunāgas ruled over Magadha, of these Udayī founded Kusumapura on the southern bank of the Ganges, they were followed by the Nandas, the first Nanda king was Mahāpadma, born to Mahānandi, the last Śaisunāga by a Śūdrā woman, hence forth the kings were Śūdras; Mahāpadma became the supreme sovereign, having put down other Kṣatriya kings, he was followed by his nine sons, the eldest of whom was Sukalpa or Sumālyā, they were all uprooted by Kautilya, the Mauryas then came to power

¹⁹ Gach. edn. part 2, pp 161-420.

²⁰ A character like the Raṣṭriya Rajasyala Samsthānaka in the *Mṛcchakatīka* of Śūdraka.

Candragupta, the founder of the Maurya line was anointed by Kautilya

[See *The Purana Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age* F E Pargiter]

V-(b-2)

The Brhatkathā Version

as preserved by Ksemendra and Somadeva

The story of Pātaliputra Nanda and Candragupta are told in I ii of Ksemendra's Brhatkathā-maṇjari (*Kayamala* edn) and in I iii-v of Somadeva's Kathāsaritsāgara (*N S Press* edn)

Vararuci narrates the stories of the foundation of Pātaliputra, of himself Indradatta and Vyādi prosecuting their studies there of Indradatta becoming Yoga Nanda and of Cānakya uprooting him for minister Sakatāla's sake and placing Candragupta on the throne

Pāṭali was a princess and Putraka was a Brahman youth blessed by God Kumāra with vast riches and the fortune of future royalty. Once as they were sporting themselves in air with the help of a miraculous aid which Putraka had, they descended at a place on the Ganges which they marked off and built into a city named after themselves as Pāṭaliputra.

Here Vararuci, Indradatta and Vyādi came to Varṣa and Upavarṣa for study. Nandi was king of Pātaliputra when these scholars came there. On the conclusion of their studies they had to pay

one crore as teachers' fees (Gurudakṣiṇā) to Varṣa and whom else could they approach for such a huge sum except King Nanda, the lord of ninety-nine crores? *Nanda was camping at Benares* at that time, but just when they reached the royal camp, the king had expired. Immediately, Indradatta resorted to his Yogic power enabling him to leave his body and enter another's (*Para-kāya-praṇea*), left his body in Vyādi's care and entered the dead Nanda's body. This re-animated Nanda King was Yoga Nanda and to him Vararuci applied for a crore of money for Gurudakṣiṇā. Yoga Nanda ordered the minister Śakaṭāla to give the amount, but Śakaṭāla, the shrewd minister, guessed the true state of affairs when he thought about the surprising sequence of death, sudden re-animation and immediate application for money. Śakaṭāla wanted to mark time, as the late real Nanda's son was but a boy at that time; he however ordered all the corpses that could be found to be assigned to fire and consequently Indradatta's body in Vyādi's charge was also forcibly taken and burnt. Vyādi informed his friend in Nanda's body of this and Indradatta was sorry he had to inhabit permanently a Śūdra's body (I. iv. 114). Vyādi told Indradatta that his person was not safe at the hands of Śakaṭāla who had seen through their trick and that Indradatta had better take Vararuci as his minister. Indradatta or Yoga Nanda acted upon Vyādi's advice, made Vararuci his minister and *threw Śakaṭāla and his hundred sons into an empty well* with a daily supply of food and water sufficient for only one person.

Sakatāla wanted to avenge the wrong done to him, and his sons offered to die, allowing their father to sustain his life by the food and water daily sent down so that he might take revenge upon Yoga Nanda. *All this happened at the Benares camp* Yoga Nanda the king and Vararuci the minister returned to Pātaliputra. The Ganges whom Vararuci propitiated was pleased to place at Vararuci's disposal a daily gift of gold. Mad with power Yoga Nanda now became a prey to lust and Vararuci thought of Sakatāla and had him rescued from the well and brought back as a minister. Nursing inwardly his grudge Sakatāla carried on his ministerial duties. Vararuci gave more than one exhibition of his intuitive powers in one of which he intuitively marked a mole at the waist of the queen. Yoga Nanda thereupon began to suspect the character of his queen and Vararuci and ordered Vararuci's execution. Śaka tala however in view of the good turn done to him by Vararuci and in view of Vararuci's great powers kept him hid in his own house and had some one else executed in his stead. Confidence grew between Vararuci and Sakatāla now and the former told Sakatāla that thanks to a Rakṣasa whom he had rendered subservient to himself none could kill him. Vararuci showed to Sakatāla not only the Rakṣasa but also the goddess Ganges.

Yoga Nanda had a son named Hiranyagupta who had become mad owing to an act of ingratitude against a bear. This cause of his son's madness, Yoga Nanda could not know and exclaimed in his despair that were Vararuci alive, he would

tell him the cause at once. Śakaṭāla seized upon the opportunity to reveal the fact that he had kept Vararuci alive and brought him to the king. Vararuci narrated to the king the cause of his son's madness and added that this, as well as the queen's secret mole, he had known by intuition. The king was stricken with remorse for the treatment he had given to Vararuci, but the latter, who was, by this time, fed up with life, retired for penance.

As Yoga Nanda's wise guardian, Vararuci, was now away once for all, Śakaṭāla found it best time to wreak his vengeance on Yoga Nanda. He once found a Brāhmaṇa named Cāṇakya uprooting a stump of grass that had hurt his foot and thought that he was the person who could be made angry enough to uproot Yoga Nanda. Śakaṭāla persuaded Cāṇakya to attend a Śrāddha at the palace and accept a lakh of gold as fees. Cāṇakya agreed and went to the palace. There was another Brāhmaṇa named Subandhu whom the king preferred for the first seat. This led to Cāṇakya being insulted, and Cāṇakya untied his tuft and swore that he would do away with Yoga Nanda in a week. To that end, he raised an evil spirit and Yoga Nanda died. Śakaṭāla then killed Hiranyakṣa, *crowned Candragupta the son of the real Nanda* as the king, made Cāṇakya his minister and retired for penance²¹.

21 According to this version, 1. The Nanda king was a Śūdra and Candragupta was his own son, 2. The kings who had to be killed for making Candragupta the king were a fake

The Buddhistic Versions

The Ceylonese Buddhistic chronicle *Mahāvamsa* and its *Tikā* supply us with an account of Candragupta and Cānakya which has been summarised by G Turnour in the introduction to his edition and translation of the *Mahāvamsa* (pp xxxviii–xlii)²² The *Tikā* says that a full account of this story is preserved in the *Atthakathā* of the priests of the *Uttaravihāra*

Kālāsoka son and successor of Sisunīga, had ten sons nine of them being called the 'Nava Nandas as a result of their bearing the word Nanda as part of their names. The eldest of these was on his mother's side of inferior descent and he was living in one of the provinces of the kingdom. He joined a band of free-booters and induced his brothers also to join the gang. Sometime afterwards the brothers decided to give up that life and aspire for sovereignty and having subdued some provincial towns they attacked Pātaliputra and usurped the throne. The nine Nandas ruled one after another in the order of seniority, for a

Nanda and his young son *Hiranyakṣa* 3 Cāpaka killed the king through black magic 4 the old minister Śakaṭāla's grudge against the usurper 5 Yoga Nanda was the motive force and 5 Cāpaka's boher to bring round a minister Rakṣasa which is his preoccupation in the play *Mudrārākṣasa* has no place in this story

²² See also Max Müller *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, pp 281ff.

total period of twenty-two years The last of them was called Dhana Nanda as he developed a passion to hoard wealth by levying numerous taxes He collected eighty crores and hid them in the cave of a rock underneath the river-bed of the Ganges

While yet the Buddha was alive, some Sākyas clans were driven to the Himalayas by king Vīdhudhabo and they settled in a place which was full of peacocks (mayuras), from this place, the clan took the name Moriyas

There was at Taxila a Brāhmaṇ named Cānakya who was well versed in the Vedas, Mantras, strategems, polity etc and was capable of wielding the sceptre His father had passed away and his mother pointed out to him that his teeth had indications of his coming royalty and that so far as she was concerned, she did not think happily of his becoming a king Preferring his mother's love to sovereignty, Cānakya smashed his own teeth and added more ugliness to his already uncomely appearance

Dhana Nanda of Puppapura (Puspapura or Pāṭalipura) had now given up his gold lust and had taken to making charitable gifts, he had built an alms hall in which he had begun to honour the most eminent Brahman with a hundred crores and a most junior Brāhmaṇ with a lakh Cānakya came to Puspapura for disputation and sat on the seat intended for the Chief Brahman Dhana Nanda came into the Hall and seeing Cānakya in the Chief Brahman's seat, ordered him to be removed Cānakya, whom the servants asked to go

away, rose up in anger, tore up his Brahmanical sacred thread, cast off his garment and assuming the character of an Ājivaka, escaped Nanda's anger and hid himself

In the retinué of Dhana Nanda himself was a prince called Pabbato (Parvatakeśvara) and to him Cānakya went in the night to win him over to his own side by giving him promise of sovereignty. Pabbato agreed and then Cānakya and the prince escaped to the Vindhya. By re-minting the Kārṣāpaṇa coins, he made up eighty crores of coin; searching again for a second individual whom he could raise to the throne, he came upon Candragutto (Candragupta) of the Moriya dynasty.

When Candragupta was yet in the womb, a neighbouring prince had attacked his father and killed him; the pregnant queen took shelter in Puppapura where she gave birth to a child near a cattle pen. A bull named Candra guarded the child and gave him the name Candragupta. As a boy, Candragupta was playing a game of royalty, himself playing the king. Cānakya who was in search of a potential sovereign found this boy Candragupta answering to his needs and purchased him for a thousand Kārṣāpaṇas. Cānakya invested both Parvata and Candragupta with a gold twisted woollen thread round the neck worth a lakh.

Once both the princes had a dream which they secretly communicated to Cānakya from which Cānakya understood that Candragupta and not Parvata would attain sovereignty. On a certain

day the three were asleep under a tree; Cāṇakya woke up first and then Parvata; Cāṇakya, wishing to test the qualifications of the two, gave Parvata a sword and asked him to bring the thread round Candragupta's neck without cutting it. Parvata could not do so. On another day, Cāṇakya ordered Candragupta to do so while Parvata was asleep; finding that the only way to secure the thread without cutting it was to cut off the head, Candragupta slew Parvata and brought Cāṇakya the thread. Cāṇakya was satisfied with Candragupta's capacity and taught him everything in seven years. When Candragupta came of age, Cāṇakya brought out his hidden treasure and with that gathered an army for Candragupta. Candragupta and Cāṇakya began attacking towns and villages, but they failed to succeed. They then gave up fighting and began studying the mind of the people. Once, as the two were wandering, a woman was giving some cakes to her child who left off the edges of the cake and ate its centre; the woman remarked that the child was foolish like Candragupta who attacked the centre without reducing the frontiers. Cāṇakya and Candragupta took lesson from this remark, gathered their army and began capturing the frontiers and the provinces. After capturing these, they easily attacked Pāṭaliputra, killed Dhana Nanda and seized the throne.

Without immediately anointing Candragupta as King, Cāṇakya caught hold of a fisherman and sought his help to find out the treasure that Nanda had hidden in the Ganges. The

fisherman was promised kingship but after his successful discovery of the treasure he was put to death and Candragupta was made monarch

The Tika then speaks of the restoration of order in Candragupta's dominion by a Jatila or recluse called Manyatapas of the clever Canakya devising a gradual programme of poisoned food to make Candragupta's constitution poison proof and of Cinakya's still more wonderful obstetric feat by which he brought into full life the foetus of Bindusara removed from the womb of Candra gupta's dead queen and reared by stages in the wombs of different goats

The Tika adds that the re animation of a king's corpse that took place does not refer to Nanda as the Brahmanical books say but to Candra gupta himself a Yaksā named Devagarbha re animated Candragupta's corpse but on the discovery of this trick by the Brahman Purohita Bindusara put the Yaksā to death

Besides this source the *Mahaparinibbana Sutta* also speaks of the Monyas of Pippalivana (*Sacred Books of the East*, xi pp 134 5)

The Milinda Panho refers to the great battle between the Nandas on the one side and Candra gupta and Cinakya on the other it is said here that the Nanda Army was commanded by one Bhadrasala and that an immense number of infantry horses elephants and chariots perished in this war (*Sacred Books of the East* xxxvi pp 147 8)

The Buddhistic work *Arya Mañjuśri mūlakalpa* also has the following references to Nanda, Candragupta and Cāṇakya. After king Sūrasena, Nanda became king of Puṣpapura; he had a huge army and was very powerful; he was originally a minister of Sūrasena, practised some Mantra whereby he amassed huge riches and usurped the throne; under Nanda there was a Brahmanical revival and Nanda gave much to the Brahman Tārkikas of Magadha; the Buddhistic work therefore calls Nanda a *Nicamukhyatama*; his minister was the great Brahman named Vararuci; Nanda then estranged his ministers, fell ill and died; he ruled for sixty-six years; Pāṇini the Brāhmaṇa was also a friend of Nanda; Nanda was followed by Candragupta, a non-Buddhist who consequently died at midnight, placing his young son Bindusāra on the throne; Cāṇakya was his great minister, but he was a very angry man; the Buddhists satisfy themselves by assigning him to hell (K. P. Jayaswal, *Imperial History of India with Extracts from the Mañjuśrimūlakalpa*)

V-(b-4).

The Jain Versions.

(i)

Harisena (C. A. D. 931-2) gives the following story of Cāṇakya in Chapter 143 of his Brāhmaṇakathākośa²³

There ruled in Pāṭaliputra the king named Nanda, his queen was Suvratā. He had three famous ministers, Kavi, Subandhu and Sakata. In the same city lived a Brahman named Kapila who had a wife named Devīlā and a son named Cānakya. Cānakya was a great scholar in all the branches of learning and his wife was known as Yaśmatī. Kapila had a sister named Bandhumatī whom Kapila gave as wife to Nanda's minister Kavi.

Once the frontier kings rose against Nanda, and Kavi, who came to know of this, duly informed King Nanda of it. The king ordered Kavi to open the coffers of the State and purchase the frontier kings. Though he himself had ordered Kavi to do this, Nanda was enraged when he learnt that thanks to this policy of Kavi, his treasury had been completely depleted, consequently he ordered Kavi and his family to be thrown into an empty well. Everyday a vessel containing food was let down into the well for Kavi's sake. Kavi told his family that he who could take revenge on Nanda might eat the food and live, and the family preferred the father to survive and take revenge. Kavi scoured out a cavity for himself on the side of the well and continued to live with the food supplied to him daily. While his family perished, Kavi managed to live for three years in that state. The frontier kings heard of this calamity to Kavi and began besieging Nanda's kingdom, immediately Nanda apologised to Kavi and lifted him out of the well. As a recompense, the king gave Kavi a

boon according to which the king accepted in the midst of all that in future Kavi alone should handle or give money to the King.

Once Kavi met Cānakya digging up some grass and asked him why he was doing so; Cānakya explained that the blade of the grass had hurt his foot and that he was therefore eradicating it completely; Kavi thought that Cānakya had dug out enough of it but Cānakya told him that if one wanted to be rid of a thing, one must pluck out the very roots of it, even as one desiring to destroy a king must behead him. On hearing this, Kavi decided that here was a man who could uproot the family of King Nanda. Kavi wrote a verse that one man, if he was endowed with knowledge of polity and resolute endeavour, could conquer the world; Cānakya who saw this verse endorsed the observation of Kavi. Cānakya once went with his wife to Kavi's place for dinner; Kavi wanted to test Cānakya and scattered some gold pieces in Cānakya's courtyard; Yaśomati, Cānakya's wife, gathered the pieces. She further told Cānakya "It seems Nanda is giving away cows to Brahmans; you go and bring a cow." At Kavi's suggestion, Nanda began giving cows to Brahmans; Kavi sent word to Cānakya and asked him to sit on the first seat. Cānakya did so but was removed from one seat to another till he had no seat, and when he complained to the man there, he (Cānakya) was necked out of the hall. Cānakya became furious and swore that he would uproot the Nanda family and proclaimed "Who ever wants the Nanda

kingdom may come to me. And a man came and stood by his side. Cānakya and that man retired to a safe place in the midst of the waters of the sea. From there Cānakya made alliance with the kings of the frontier mountains and with their aid destroyed Nanda and established his man at Pataliputra.

After a long time Cānakya became detached and took to the life of a Jain monk with five hundred pupils he turned southwards and stayed at a place west of Mahakrauncapura. Subandhu the minister of Nanda the king who had been killed by Cānakya nursed his anger against Cānakya and wanted to harm him consequently he went to hell. Even now it is said the shrine of Cānakya is to be seen to the west of Krauñcapura worshipped by the Sadhus.

(11)

In the same book of Harṣaṇa the last story, 15th deals with Sakatālamuni. Sakatāla was mentioned as one of the three ministers of Nanda in story no 143 narrated above. Here a story of Sakatāla becoming a Jain monk is given. Nanda's queen is mentioned as Sunandī. The story brings together in the manner of the version in the Katha arīśīgara Nanda Vararuci Indra datta etc. Sakatāla is referred to here as having a hundred sons and the motif of being thrown into a chamber and supplied one vessel of food every day is applied here to Sakatāla and his hundred sons who consequently develop enmity towards Nanda.

(111)

In ch 8 of his *Prīśīstaparvan*²⁴, Hemacandra gives his account of the Jain version of the stories of the Nandas Candragupta and Cānakya. After dealing with the story of Śakatāla Yoga Nanda and Vararuci, (cf *Brhatkathākośa*, story 157 mentioned above), Hemacandra comes to the story of Cānakya and Candragupta.

In the village of Canaka in the Golla country, there was a Brahman called Cani, his wife was Caneśvari, they had a son named Cānakya who had signs on his teeth showing his future fortune as a king or one equal to a king, on the suggestion of some wise men, these teeth of Cānakya were sawed. Canakya's wife was desirous of wealth and Cānakya resolved to go to Pātaliputra to accept present from king Nanda. There in the palace, Cānakya sat on the very first seat which was king Nanda's own seat. Cānakya was consequently made to vacate the seat and insulted. Swearing that he would uproot Nanda, Cānakya went out in anger and searched for a man fit to become a king. There was a village called Mayūrapośaka where peacocks for the royal house of Nanda were being reared²⁵. There the daughter of the chief was pregnant and Cānakya took a promise that her child would be handed over to

24 *Sthaviravalīcarita* or *Parīśīstaparvan* an Appendix to the *Trīśaṭīśalakapurūṣacarita* of Hemacandra. Ed by H Jacobi Asiatic Society Bengal Pp 212-225

25 The peacock was evidently a delicacy of the kitchen of those days. Asoka's edicts mention peacocks as a favourite item of the royal menu.

him. A story is here told how thanks to Cāṇakya's ingenious device, the pregnant woman 'drank the moon', a story which explains the name of the son, Candragupta. Cāṇakya meantime roamed in search of alchemists with whose help he could make gold. As a boy, Candragupta played games imitative of royal acts. Cāṇakya on his return found his choice shaping alright and already fond of playing the king. The two together started on their campaign against Nanda; with money procured through alchemy, the two collected an army and attacked Nanda's capital but failed to succeed. They had two precarious escapes from the royal cavalry who pursued them.

In the course of their flight, Cāṇakya overheard an old lady finding fault with her children as being foolish like Cāṇakya; the children had been served with hot food and instead of eating it from the edges, they plunged their palms in the very centre of the food and got hurt by the food. The old lady pointed out that this was as foolish as Cāṇakya attacking Nanda's Capital without winning over the frontier and surrounding regions.²⁶ Taking wisdom from the old woman's precious observation, Cāṇakya repaired to a kingdom on the Himalayan slopes and secured the alliance of the king named Parvataka after promising him half the kingdom. They then attacked Nanda's capital; Nanda was defeated.

²⁶ This, and the indication of royal status on the teeth of young Cāṇakya, are found also in the Buddhistic accounts in the *Mahāvastu* (11).

and allowed to go away singly on a chariot with his family; Nanda's daughter however fell in love with Candragupta and the two married.

On entering Nanda's palace, they found there a poison-fed damsel; Parvataka was attracted by her beauty and was allowed to have her; on her contact, Parvataka got poisoned and was allowed to perish by Cānakya who wanted to be rid of one to whom they were bound to give half the kingdom. Candragupta thus became the sole monarch. This happened 155 years after the Nirvāna of Mahāvira (B. C. 313).

In the Bindusāra story which follows, Hemachandra records his version of the enmity between Cānakya and Subandhu found in story 143 of the Bṛhatkathākośa of Harīṣṇa. According to this story again, Cānakya continued to be a minister in Bindusāra's time too.

In ch. 6, Hemacandra narrates the story of how Udāyin, son of Kūnika, founded the city of Pāṭaliputra, of how Udāyin was murdered by the son of a king whom Udāyin had defeated and how a certain Nanda, born of a courtesan and a barber, living in Pāṭaliputra was made king of Pāṭaliputra 60 years after the Nirvāna (B. C. 408). In ch. 7, Hemacandra narrates the story of a Brahman named Kalpaka, son of Kapila who was very wise and whom king Nanda contrived to take as his minister. But an earlier minister of Nanda, who became jealous of Kalpaka, carried the tale to Nanda that Kalpaka was secretly planning to

make himself the king Misled by this Nanda threw Kalpaka and his family into a deep empty well, a small quantity of food was let down the well everyday and the sons preferred to die and let their father live and avenge the wrong done to them by the king Nanda's vassals came to know of the absence of the able minister Kalpaka and attacked Nanda, Nanda then sought Kalpaka and restored him to his position Ch 8 tells us that Nanda was succeeded by seven descendants Kalpaka's sons were ministers to all these kings The ninth Nanda's minister was Śakatāla also a descendent of Kalpaka The story of his two sons Sthulabhadra and Śriyaka and that of Vararuci are then narrated

V-(b 5)

The Greek Versions

Curtius says that when Alexander, after defeating Porus in the battle of Hydaspes (Jhelam) in 326 B C was planning to march further east into the interior of the country, he was informed that on the banks of the Ganges the largest river in all India there were two peoples the Gangaridae and the Prasii (those of the Gangarīṣṭra and the Pracyas) whose king Agrammes kept in the field 20 000 cavalry, 200,000 infantry, 2000 four-horsed chariots, and what was most formidable of all, a troop of 3000 elephants Considering the report incredible, Alexander turned to Porus who was nearby for confirmation Porus confirmed the account of the forces but added that the present king in the east was one of mean origin the son of a barber who having been a person of not

uncomely appearance, gained the queen's affections, and the king's confidence, and subsequently murdered the king treacherously; that the barber then pretended to act as a guardian to the young princes, put them all to death and usurped the throne; and that to him was born the present king who was equally detestable, having taken after his barber father, and was held cheap by his subjects.

Diodoros gives the same information, but mentions the elephants' number as 4000, and spells the name of the eastern king as Xandrames.

According to Plutarch, before the fight between Alexander and Porus, there were some Indian princes who had joined Alexander, and Brahmans of the Punjab reviled these princes and set up the free states to revolt, and for this, Alexander hanged many of these Brahmans. Regarding the strength of the eastern kingdom, Plutarch repeats the same information but his numbers are greatly in excess of those given above. Plutarch however adds in support of his figures the remark that these numbers are not exaggerated, for not long afterwards Androkottos (Candragupta), who had by that time mounted the throne, presented Seleukos with 500 elephants, and overran and subdued the whole of India with an army of 600,000 men. Plutarch records also the important information that Androkottos himself, who was then but a youth, saw Alexander, and afterwards used to declare that Alexander could have easily taken possession of the whole country, since the king was hated and despised by his subjects for the

wickedness of his disposition and the meanness of his origin

According to Justin, soon after Alexander's death, India had put his prefects to death, as if to shake off its neck the yoke of bondage Sandrocottus was the leader who achieved this freedom, he was born in humble life but was prompted to aspire for royalty by some significant omens By his insolent behaviour he offended Alexandrus (Alexander or Nandras (Nanda) and when he was ordered to be killed he fled As he was lying asleep in fatigue a lion licked off his sweat and quietly went away Emboldened by this good augury, he collected an army of robbers²⁷ or more probably hired soldiers, and attacked Alexander's prefects, in this fight a wild elephant voluntarily approached him and took him on its back When, after the partition of Alexander's empire among his generals Seleucus Nicator waged wars and entered India Sandrocottus had won the throne and was reigning over India Seleucus made a treaty with Sandrocottus and returned

Arrian says that Seleucus warred with Androkottos, the king of the Indians who lived about that river (the Indus) until he entered into an alliance and marriage affinity with him" (C 305 B C)

[See *Ancient India Its Invasion by Alexander the Great* by J W M Criddle]

27 This refers to the Arattas or Arattas (Arīṭras) the republications of the N W

श्रीमहादेवकृता

मुद्राराज्ञसनाटककथा ॥

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पाठलीपुर्त नाम काचन राजधानी धर्तते । तस्मिन्नगरे सर्वेऽपि गृदा रजनयस्तन्ति । प्रातादास्त्रदल्यन्तमुच्चताः प्रेषमण्डलं सृजान्ति । तस्मिःपुरे कश्चिदपि पुरुषः अकिञ्चनो नास्ति । सर्वेऽपि ध्रोमन्तः । ऋषेण तु मन्मथमहशः, चतुर्थिपि शास्त्रेषु निपुणाः । सर्वेऽपि रसिकाः । याचकेषु प्रातेषु धनानि तृणानीव वितरन्ति । खियोऽप्यप्तरस द्वय सुन्दर्यः । तत्र काचिदपि एतपुरुषाणां मुखान्यपि कदापि न जानाति । तस्या नगर्यस्तुल्या नगरी निगु ठोकेष्यपि न ददाः । तस्यां नगर्यै पद्मतुष्यदिग्दानाः कश्चिन्महाराजः उपित्या चतुस्तमुद्रपर्यन्तां पृथिवीमपालयत् ।

तस्य राज्ञः द्वे भार्ये । तशोर्मध्ये उपेष्ठा नान्ना सुगन्दा अक्षियवंशजा । द्वितीया तु मुराख्या सूतपुत्रो । हाभ्यां भार्याभ्यां सह विद्वरमाणस्य सर्वार्थसिद्धेः भूयात् कालः अत्यवर्तत । तावत्यपि काले तस्य पुत्रसम्पत्तिर्नाभवत् । स च पुरावृ वहूनि तपांसि वद्वनि दानानि वहूनि नरानि च चकार । एतस्मिन्

स तरे क्षित्परस्ती समागतः । स राजा समूर्पि 'अयं गदाप्रताव ,
अस्यानुप्रदेण पुवलाभो भविष्यति' इति निश्चित्य पर्वीभ्या सद्गत
पूजयामास । तस्य पादोदकं स्वशिरसि खपलयोध्य शिरसि
प्रोक्षयामास । तदा सुनन्दाया इशरसि नव जलविन्दवः पतिता ।
शद्वायारिशरसि दक एव जर्दिन्दुरपतव । सा च मुरा तं जल-
विन्दुं भक्तिनन्द्रेण शिरसा सादर्दं प्रतिजपाद ।

स मुनोऽवरस्तस्या विनयातिशयं दृष्ट्वा मुरायां विशिष्य
प्रसादमकरोत् । अनन्तरं स तापसः राजानं वीहय 'भवतः ज्येष्ठ-
मार्या नव पुत्रान् प्रसोष्यते, मुराया एकः पुत्रो भविष्यति' इत्यनु-
गृह्य यथागतं गतः ।

ततः स्वत्वे काल एव उभे विभयं गर्भिण्यौ जाते ।
तद ज्येष्ठायाः एकः अलावृक्षलब्धमासकोशः, अजायत । त
दृष्ट्वा सर्वेऽपि भृशं विषयाः । तदा तस्य मन्त्री राक्षसो
नाम पर्यालोचयत् । किमिति चेत्— पूर्वं कर्त्तीश्वरेण सुनन्दायाः
नव पुत्रा भविष्यन्तीति वरो दत्तः । एवं स्थिते सुनन्दायाः मास-
पिण्डा जातः । मदर्पेवाप्यं कदाऽपि मिथ्या न भविष्यति । अतः
एतमासयण्डं नययण्डान् दृष्ट्वा घृतद्रोषीपु निश्चाय पदयाम ।
उपोषनाद्योऽप्येवमेव जाता इनीतिदासशा, कर्यन्ति । एतमा-
लाद्य रथैव चकार ।

ततः कतिपयेषु दिवखेषु समकालं नयापि पुत्रा मजायन्ता ।
वरानीं स राजा राशसस्य बुद्धिकौशलमालोप्य सुतरा तुतोप ।

सर्वेऽपि ज्ञातः तत्कर्म दृष्ट्वा भूर्य विसिताः । मुख्यास्तदानी-
मेवैकः पुत्रो जातः । स च शूद्रापुत्रोऽपि अत्यन्तं प्रतिभास्त्वतः
महत्सु विनीतः नीतिपु निपुणश्चाभवत् ।

क्षमेण तेषां दशानामपि पुत्राणां विवाहादौश्चकार । अन-
न्तरं मुरापुवस्य शत पुत्रा पितृतुल्याः अजायन्त । तेषु शत-
तमशन्द्रगुप्तो नाम अतीव तुद्धिमान् दण्डनीतौ परिनिषिनः ।
तैः पुत्रैः पित्रा मौर्येण च गुणवत्तया सर्वेऽपि जनः वशीकृतः ।

नवनन्दास्तु तदसद्मानाः तेषु मत्सरमवदन् । कदा-
चित् सर्वार्थसिद्धिः स्वस्य कञ्जित्पुत्रं राज्येऽभियेन्तुं मन्त्राभिः
सद्वालोचयामास । तदा स मौर्यं शूद्रापुवस्य मम राज्यं पिता न
दास्यतीति मत्सरेण तावचनन्दान् प्रत्येकं भेदयामास । तद्वचनेन
भेदिताः सर्वेऽपि 'ममैव राज्यं ममैव राज्यम्' इति कलहं वर्तुः ।
ततो राक्षसः प्राह-राज्यं नयथा विभृय नवानामपि दातव्यमिति ।
ततो मौर्यस्तान् रद्वासि पृथक्षण्ठग्भेदयामास । ततस्सर्वेऽपि 'ममैव
पुण्यपुर देयम्, ममैव देयम्' इति विवादमकुर्यन् । राक्षसः पुनरपि
तानाह-एकैकं एकैकं वर्षे नगरं राज्यं च परिपालयत्विति । पुनरपि
मौर्यभेदेन 'प्रथमपर्ये अहं राज्यं करोमि, अद्वमेव करोमि' इति तेषां
विवादोऽभवत् । ततः पुनरपि राक्षसः एतत्सर्वं मौर्यकृतमिति
मतसि विश्वित्य तान् सर्वानपि सान्तवयिवोद्याच- एवं भरतसु
कलहायमानेषु राज्यचित्तद्रं भवेत् । अतः गुणाभिः कलहो
न कर्तव्यः । गुटिकापाते यस्य प्रयमसंवत्सरा लभ्यते, स प्रथमवर्षे

राजास्त्विनि सम्मन्त्रय तयैवाकरोत् । ५३ नानानायकं तद्राज्यं
राक्षसं स्वचुदिवत्रेन रथमिव इपालयत् । मौर्याय सेगपतिः इरौ ।
एवं स्तितेऽपि शतपुत्रेण तेन भर्महेन शश्यमेव तेषां गृद्भान्तिः ।

धैर्यसस्ति स एतद्वाजनस्यानि अज्ञानेकीरुत्य शतर्दीपस्यानि
तैङ्गान्धिष्येकीरुत्य भुज्ञानः वसतु । दैवगत्या वहिनिर्गमा मवि-
ष्यति चेत्, स एतास्तच्छ्रुत्वा प्रतीकारं करोतु । इतरे वयं पुन
अद्यैव मरिष्यामः । इतरथाप्यमाकं श्वः मरण सिद्धमेव ।
तद्यैव भवतु, तत्र को लाभः । इति । पितुर्वचनं श्रुत्वा चन्द्रगुत
एक एव 'दैवं परं यद्युकूल स्यात्, अद्व च यदि वहिनिर्गमिष्यामि,
तदा तेषां शक्वाणां विनाशं कुर्याम्' इत्यचोचत् । अनन्तरं मौर्योऽपि
त नवनयतिपुत्रैस्सह चन्द्रगुतमनुगृह्य कृतिपर्येरव दिनैर्गतः ।
चन्द्रगुतोऽपि तमन्तराशि भुज्ञ्या पहिनिर्गमनकालं चिन्तयन्
तवैरावसत् ।

पतस्तिनेव काले देशान्तरात् कस्यचिद्रात् सकाशान्
कदिवत्पुरुषः सिद्धगर्भं पञ्चरमादाय नन्दाना समीपमागत्य
'अस्तिन् राष्ट्रे पः कदिच्चद् युद्धिमान् अस्ति चेत्, इदं पञ्चरम-
मित्या अन्तः स्थित सिद्धं वहिनिर्द्रावयतु' इत्याद । तद्वचन
श्रुत्वा राक्षसादयस्तवेऽपि सिद्धं तथा विद्रावयितु उपायज्ञा-
पिदन् । तदा मौर्यामिमानी कदिचत् ब्रुद्धामात्य इदमाद—'मौर्य-
पुत्रेषु चरमः चन्द्रगुतः ईदशरुमस्यतीव पदुः । इदानीं तथा
(गतचिन्तया)* किं कर्त्तव्यम्' इति ।

तद्वचनं नन्दा राक्षसश्च श्रुत्वा कदाचिद्यन्द्रगुतो जीवेदिति

* Not found in the Ms., but restored on the basis of Ravinartaka's version.

प्रथाशया तेषां सर्वेषां वृत्तान्तज्ञिकासया चन्द्रगुप्तस्यादृष्ट्येन
च बालोचनशालाद्वारमुद्धाटयामात्रुः । ततदेव मन्त्रिणश्चन्द्र-
गुप्तं जीवन्तमालोक्य सन्तोषिणोपसृत्य राजानस्त्वामाहयन्ति,
आगच्छेत्यवोचन् । चन्द्रगुप्तः निर्गन्तुमित्तुपपि तानगोचत्—
‘पिता भ्रातरः सर्वेऽपि गतां’, अद्यं गन्दधारयः जीवामि
प्राप्णा अपि न गच्छन्ति, मम तेषां राज्ञां समीपे किं कर्तव्यं
मस्ति, अद्यमपि कलिपपैर्दिनैर्मित्यामि’ इति । अनन्तरं राजानः
स्वयमागत्य ‘यत्स चन्द्रगुप्त ! मा भैषीः, वहिरागच्छ, मव-
त्पितुरधिकारं तदैर दाख्याम’ इति वदुशः सन्तरयामात्रुः ।
चन्द्रगुप्तोऽपि निर्वन्धादिव वदिनिर्जगाम । तस्य पञ्चरथं सिद्ध
प्रदद्यते तदृतुरुचानामादुः । सोऽपि समशगालोक्य ‘जतुमयोऽपि
सिद्धं, पञ्चरथं चलनम्, रोमाणि कृत्विमाणि’ इति निर्दिवत्य अग्नि
तपानिरयदशलाकामि, सिद्धमद्वाग्यत् । ततो राजान् सन्तुष्टाः,
तस्य सेनाधिपत्य दत्त चेत्सेना क्रमशो तिनाशेदित्यालोक्य
भोजनशालाधिकारं तस्मै दत्तयन्तः । चन्द्रगुप्तोऽपि तत्कार्यं
मपदयत् ।

किमर्थं दर्भं चूर्णीकृत्य पिवनि ?' इत्यपुच्छत् । तदा स ब्राह्मणः प्रत्युवाच—'अरं चह्यामि, शुणु । अहं चाणदशो नाम दक्षिण-देशः । मम चरणे अर्यं दर्भः क्षतमकरेत् । एवं चूर्णीकृत्य न पास्यामि चेत् प्रम कोषो न शास्येत्' इति । ततश्चन्द्रगुप्तः प्राद—'भगवन् पदि वलगान् राजा तवापरिष्पति, तदा त्ये किं करिष्यसि' इति । ततश्चाणन्य आद—'मद्रूपुद्विवलं त्वं न जानासि । राजां सदस्यमपि अयुतमपि वा बुद्धिमाचेण जतुं शकोऽद्दम् । तदास्ताम् । जन्मानां भोजनशालाधिकारी चन्द्रगुप्तो नाम वृपलः आस्त इति थूयते । स कुत्रेदार्तं स्यात् ?' मपातीव चुमुक्ता चर्तते । तत्समीपे गन्तव्यम्' इति । चन्द्रगुप्तः प्राद—'खामिन् ! अदुपेव चन्द्रगुप्तः । तदागत्य मुखेन भोक्तु शक्यम्' इति । अनन्तरं चाणक्यस्त प्रत्याद—'यो राजपुत्र ! ब्राह्मणस्वभावाद्राजपुत्राऽपि भवान्तृपल इत्युक्तः । सोऽयं ममापराधः क्षन्तव्यः' इति । चन्द्रगुप्त आद—'भगवन् ! वृपल इति त्वया यदुक्तम्, एतदेव ममानुप्रदः । अहं च तय चरणयोर्यावद्विविष्ट किञ्चुरोऽस्मि । एवमेव मर्वदा विवहर्त्वम्' इत्यभिघाद स्वसिंशाणन्यस्य यथा करुणा स्यात्तथा आदित यारम्य स्वम्य शबुद्धिः छत्सुपद्रव्यं प्रसकानुपस्थित्या कथयित्वा, भोजनशालामार्गं च प्रदेशं 'भगवन् ! न गद्भिर्भौजनानन्तरं प्रस्थानसमये मद्रूपुद्विवलं पवित्रीरुरणीयम्' इति प्रार्थयित्वा न्यगृहं गतः ।

चाणक्याऽपि भोजनशाला प्रविषेश । तत्र भोजनार्थं दरा
सौभणभोजनानि राजतानि शत पात्राणि चासन् । तानि हण्ग
चाणक्यस्त्वं न एव प्रच्छु 'केपामतानि पात्राणं' इति । सुवण
पात्रपु न एव पात्राणि राजाम् एक त सर्वावद्याविद् ब्रह्मणम्
इतराणि राजतानि पात्राणि च यथा ब्राह्मणानाम्' इति प्राहु ।
चाणक्यस्त्वं स्माविदुदासने निपसाद् । एव स्थिते राज नस्सर्वे
भोपतुमागता चाणक्य हप्त्वा कोऽय वाल अजातश्मथु
महाविदुष योग्य अग्रासने निषण्ण इति प्रच्छु । चाणक्य
'अजातश्मथुर्वा भवामि न वा, विद्याया यदि म सम कर्त्त्वा
दस्ति तर्हागच्छतु' इत्यवदत् । अथ न दा 'अहृत अय वदु
निरस्ताम्' इति स्वपुरुषै आसनादाकृपयामासु । तदा जन
सरुद्याकृध्यमाण चाणक्य शिखा विमुच्य कोपन न दान् समूल
ह वा शिखा निवधामीति प्रत्यजानात् । नन्दास्तु शुधार्तो
ब्राह्मण यत्किञ्चित्प्रलपतीति जहसु । चाणक्य यहि निपक्षम्
च द्रगुपस्य गृह गत्वा न दानिदत्य तव राज्य दास्यामीति प्रति
क्षाय, वक्तव्य सर्वमुक्त्वा, इन्दुशर्मीण नाम स्वस्य सतीर्थं ब्राह्मण
म हृय, तस्य वक्तव्यमभिधाय, पर्वतकेश्वर नाम फ्लेच्छराज
मुपगम्य, स्वयोग्यता प्रकटीकृत्य नन्दै कृत स्वावमान स्वस्य
प्रतिक्षा च कथयि वा 'म सद्वायेन त्वं सैन्यै सद्वागत्य यदि
नन्दानिदनिष्पासि तर्हि तव राज्यार्थं दास्यामि' इत्यवदत् ।
पर्वतकेश्वरोऽप्यालोचयामास्त- अय तवद्वाह्मण बुद्धिमानिव

लक्ष्यत । नन्द्राज्यमर्मद्वयम् । एतत्साहाय्यकं लक्ष्यं चैन्यम् नन्द्रालयं सर्वे प्रहीतुं जाक्यम् । इति निदिवत्य, तं सगृह्य नन्दैः सह योऽद्युः सेनासन्नाहमकरोत् ।

एवं लिखेन वाणिष्ठस्य एषाम् ददुष्टम् । दास नालिषोऽपि क्षपणकुवेषधारी जीवसिद्धिरिति व्यनाम प्रकाश्य, राक्षससमीपं गत्वा, स्वस्य नीतिशाखे ल्योतिश्शाखे मन्त्रशाखे च नैपुण्यं प्रकटीकृत्य, तत्समीपे ब्राह्मित्वेनावसत् । राक्षसोऽप्यालोचपामास—‘चाणक्या नाम ब्राह्मणः वद्धैरो निर्गत । स च कदाचिद् अस्माख्यभिचारादिकं करिष्यति । अयं च क्षपणको जाविदिदिः अस्माकं सखा बर्तते । ब्राह्मणाना क्षपणकाना च स्वप्राप्तिसिद्धे गिरायः । तत्त्वाद्य षड्ग्रेत फियमाणम् अभिचारादिकम् अय प्रतिकरिष्यति’ इति तस्मिन्नतीय मैत्रीमिकार्पीति । एवं प्रधानभूतराक्षसस्नेहेन तत्वत्या, सर्वेऽपि सेनापतयः तस्य क्षपणकुस्य साधीना आता । स च कदाचिद् ‘भविष्यति अस्मि-मालिङ्गिनिद्वे युध्माक पीडा भविष्यति’ इति राक्षसादान् रद्धस्युर्क्षया, तस्मिन्नत्र इने काचित्कृत्यामुत्पाद्य तेषां भीतिमुत्पाद्य, ‘केनचिद्वाक्षणेन युध्माकमुगरि कृत्या प्रयोजिता, अदृशा रामरित्यामि । मम पुरुत् ब्राह्मणाना योग्यताकाहर्णी’ इत्यमिवाय, इस्तमित्यमयूरपिण्डुकाभ्रमणमाक्षेण ता तत्वा दामयामात् । एवमादिभि. प्रत्यक्षसिद्धै तदीयसामर्थ्यं विशेषे राक्षसादीना तस्मिन्नतीय विश्वासोऽभवत् । तदुक

सर्वेऽपि नाभ्यथा कुर्वन्ति ।

एवं स्थिते 'अस्मिन् दिने पर्वतकेश्वरः नन्दैः सद योद्धुमागं मिष्यति' इति गूढवारमुखेन विदित्या क्षणकः नन्दसेनापतीनां गृहं गत्वा प्रत्येकं रुद्रस्यमवदत् । 'भाविन्यां वैशाखपूर्णमास्यां तत्र ग्रहगतिर्हिंपरीता घर्तते । तस्यां तिथौ राशो मदशुद्धमागं मिष्यति । उदा भवता युद्धार्थं गतं चेत् त्वं मरिष्यसि । अत-स्त्वया न गन्तव्यम् । इदं रुद्रस्यमेव घर्तताम् । कस्यापि निकटे न कथनीयम्' इति । एवं सर्वानपि मन्त्रिणो भट्टाच प्रत्येकं रहसि शोधयामास । ते सर्वेऽपि तद्राक्षं तत्प्रसिद्धि गृदीतवन्तः । एवं सति वैशाखपूर्णमास्यां महान्निम्नलेन्द्रुयलै-सप्तह पर्वतकेश्वरचाणकयौ पुष्पपुरुषहृष्णन्तौ । राक्षसोऽपि सर्वान् सेनापतीन् युद्धार्थं नियोजयामास । ते सर्वेऽपि क्षणक-पादपे दिश्यात्सात् 'अस्मिन्दिनेऽहं योद्धुं गच्छामि चेत् मरिष्यामि' इति प्रत्येकं निश्चित्य युद्धाय न गतं गम्तः । नवतन्दा राक्षसध कतिपयैर्भट्टैः सद नगराभिर्गत्य म्लेच्छैसपह गुयुधिरे । तत्थ परिभितपरिपारतया चाणक्यमतियलपरिगृहीतैर्वदुष्मिः पर्वत-केश्वरयलैः नव नन्दा व्यापादिताः । राक्षसस्तु पराक्रमाविशयेन चाणक्योपेक्षया च स्वप्रसक्षत एवात् ।

मपि भवेत्तनुयामि वेदिषुपु जोवत्सु तेषु प्रतीकारमकृत्वा खी-
यन्त्रियनानो जगतासुपद्मान्यो भवेयम् । एकेन मया वहवः
प्रतिप्रटाः चतुर्योपायेन जेतुं न यत्पन्ते । अतो वुद्धिवलेन
क्रमेण ज्ञेयाः । तात्र जित्या अस्तस्मामिकुलकूटस्य चृदं सर्वार्थ-
सिद्धिनेत्र राजानं राज्ये स्थापित्वा चिरमुकमर्दपिण्डानुष्ठान-
प्रथा सम्पादनीयम्' इति निश्चित्य अःठगृदमत्सर एव चन्द्र-
गुप्तचाणक्यपर्वतकेश्वरैस्तन्त्रियमभजत् । चन्द्रगुतं च गत्वा
प्रणव्यावेचत्—'दिष्टथाऽस्य राज्यस्य भवान् राजा जातः ।
अस्माकं भवानपि स्वामिषुनः । नन्दा अपि स्वामिषुनाः । एता-
वन्ते कालं नन्दानामित्रेत्परं भगवोऽपि वर्यं पोषणीया' इत्य-
भिधाय चन्द्रगुतेनानुमोदितः कदाचिद्वद्विति पर्वतकेश्वरमुपेत्य
ते भेदयामात्—'चन्द्रगुतोऽप्य शूद्रापुत्रः राज्यमिदं नार्हति ।
अतस्ते द्युमना घातयित्वा सर्वमर्पि राज्यं तर्षेव दापिष्यामि ।
चापन्योऽपि ग्राहणं त्वया निराकृतः क्षापि पलापिष्यते' इति ।
पर्वतकेश्वरोऽपि यद्यै रथेत्यद्वीचकार । पर्वतकेश्वरराज्यसंयोगं
विशिष्य मैत्रीं सखाता ।

चाणक्योऽपि राज्यसम्पादयं चुभ्वा निश्चित्य, जवे लब्धेऽ-
पि पुण्यपुरं शोप्रभिदनीमस्मामि । प्रेषु त शक्यम्, छद्मनाऽस्मान्
दन्तु राज्यसं कमध्युपाये कदिपतवान् स्वात्, अतस्तस्तर्व
शोधयित्वा नगरं प्रवेष्यत्यम्, पर्वतकेश्वरायापि युद्धसादाद्यर्थं
राज्यार्थं दशामीति मया प्रायुक्तम्, स च उमना घातयितव्या,

इतरथा चन्द्रगुप्तस्य सकलराज्यप्रदानमस्याभिः प्रतिष्ठात न कृत
स्यात्, इत्यालोच्य चन्द्रगुप्तपर्वतेकेश्वराभ्यां सद नगराद्विद्वये
स्थित्या, राक्षसवृत्तान्तं चारमुखेन शोधयन् कतिचिद्दिनानि
स्थितः ।

एवं स्थिते चन्द्रगुप्तं रहसि धातयितुं राक्षसः क्षपणकमुणा-
यमप्राक्षीत् । क्षपणकोऽपि राक्षसमाचचक्षे—‘मया तावदत्यन्त-
स्मृत्यरी तदणरूपा काचन कृत्या सृज्यते । तां च सदृश्य-
कश्चित्पुरुष उपभुइके चेत्, तदानीमेव सा कृत्यात् धातयित्वा
स्यमपि तिरोभवति’ इत्युक्त्वा विषक्त्यकां खण्डगा राक्षसाय
ददौ । राक्षसोऽप्यनया कन्यया चन्द्रगुप्तं धातयितुं शक्षमिति
निश्चित्य पूर्णमनोरथः सन् राक्षो पर्वतेकेश्वरचाणक्यचन्द्रगुप्तेषु
सभायामासीनेषु तया कन्यया सद चन्द्रगुप्तमुपगम्याच्चत—
‘देव ! अत्यन्तरमणीयरूपं किमपि तद्विरक्तं मद्दशे यत्तेव, तत्त्व-
दर्शयामास । तां च वृष्ट्या चन्द्रगुप्तपर्वतेकेश्वरो सरपरवश-
यभूताम् । चाणक्यस्तु क्षपणकमुखेन पूर्णमेव विषक्त्या-
वृत्तान्तं यिदितवान् । अस्माकमर्धराज्यद्वरस्य पर्वतेकेश्वरस्य
मारणं कारणीयमिति निश्चित्य तदानीं चन्द्रगुप्तमवोचत—
‘वृश्छ अत्यन्तोपकारिणे पर्वतेकेश्वराय प्रथममागतमिदं कन्या-
रक्षमनुपद्वय न त्थया भोक्तुं युक्तम्’ इति । चन्द्रगुप्तोऽपि
चाणक्यवाक्येन तथेत्यहीचकार ।

पर्वतकेश्वरोऽपि तां कन्यामादाय परमात्मदमन्थरः शश्या-
मन्दिरं प्रविद्य तथा सह विद्वत्सुशुको मारितश्च । राक्षसोऽपि
“विनायकं प्रकुर्वाणो रचयामास वातरम्” इति न्यायेन मयाऽ-
न्युपकान्तमन्यदेव फलितम्, चन्द्रगुरुं निहन्तुसुशुकेन मया
चन्द्रगुरुस्य राज्यार्थं दरत्वेन शत्रुरस्तन्मित्रं पर्वतकेश्वरं एव
घातितः, अश्वानात् त्वरावशास्त्रेन वृत्तान्तं पर्वतकेश्वरे नोक्त-
वानसि पूर्वमेव, इति पर्वतकेश्वरं सूर्तं विपक्न्या-
च तिरोहितां दृश्या चन्द्रगुरुसहतकः मासु ग्रदण्डेन घातयिष्यति,
बतो राक्षावेव मयाऽसादेशात् पलायितव्यम्, पलायितेन च येन
केनचिदुपायेन चन्द्रगुरुमुच्छेत्तुं उद्योगः कर्तव्यः” इति निश्चित्य,
भगरं प्रविद्य, सर्वार्थसिद्धिं तापसवेषणं तपोवनं प्राप्त्य, दारु-
वर्मप्रभृतीनासपुरुषान् चन्द्रगुरुं छङ्गना घातयितुं नियुज्य, तेषां च
प्रवर्तनार्थं सत्यात्तरम् शट्टदास नामं कायस्यं महता घन-
तिचयेन सह स्थापयित्वा, स्वस्यास्यन्तसुद्वदो मणिकारथेऽग्नि-
अन्दनदासस्य गृहे स्वगृदभानं कल्पन्तपुत्रादिकं निश्चिप्य पलायां
चकार ।

परेद्युः प्रभातकाले शयनगृहादनिकान्तं पर्वतकेश्वरमा-
लोक्य कश्चाटसुद्वाट्य शश्यायां प्रसीरं पर्वतकेश्वरमपद्यन्, कन्यां
च नापद्यन् । ततश्चास्याक्षप्रस्यन्तसुपकारी मित्रं पर्वतकेश्वरः
राक्षसेन मत्सरेण घातित इति विषण्ण इव कासौ दुरात्मा राक्षसः,
गृह्यतामिति चारान् द्वापर्यामास । चाराद्व राक्षसं विवित्य,

रात्रायेव कापि पर्यायितो न दृश्यते इति चाणक्याय निवेद
यामासुः । चाणक्योऽपि पर्यालोचयामास— 'अस्माकमर्ध-
राज्यहरः पर्वतकेश्वरदृढ़लेन घातितः, 'भक्षितेऽपि लग्नुने न
शान्तो व्याधि.' इति न्यायन तत्पुत्रो मलयकेतु' भ्राता वैरोधक-
इच वर्तते, पूर्वप्रतिश्वुतमर्धराज्यं ताभ्यां देयमापतति, एवं च
सति पर्वतकेश्वरवद्यः अस्माकं विश्वासघातमाक्षे दोषे पर्यवस्थति,
चतस्तावपि कथञ्चिद्दातयितव्याविति चेचाणक्य एव राज्य-
लोभेनात्यन्तसुहर्षोऽपि घातितगानिति मद्वापकीर्तिः प्रतिष्ठा-
पिता भवेत्, अतः पूर्वमेव मलयकेतुना सद्व कपटमैत्रीं ग्राहितेन
भागुरायणेन मलयकेतुः कथञ्चिद्दृ वोधयित्वा स्वदेश प्रापणीय',
वैरोधकमत्वैव स्वापयित्वा तद्वये पश्चादुपायं दिघास्यामि'
इति निश्चित्य मलयकेतुमेदनाय भागुरायण योजितवान् ।

भागुरायणश्च पितृमरणशोकमन्तसं मलयकेतुं रहसि रोध-
यामास—'कुमार ! चाणक्योऽयमत्यन्तकृतम्, देहं पर्वतकेश्वर-
माधिक्य राज्यार्थं दास्यामीति प्रतिश्वुत्य सम्भूतनद्वचननिष्ठमेण
देवेन समूलमुन्मूलितेषु सकलारातिषु तस्मै राज्यार्थं प्रदेयं
स्यादिति मत्वा मित्रद्रोहपातकी देहं पर्वतकेश्वरं छग्ना व्यापा-
दितवान्, इत परं कुमारोऽन्न धग्माक्षं वर्तते चेत् कीदर्शं या द्राहं
समीहेत, अतः 'जीवन्मद्राणि पश्चति'इति न्यायेन स्वराष्ट्रं प्राप्य,
चाणक्यपत्राः वैरनिर्यातनोपायं पर्यालोचयताम्' इति । तच्छ्रुत्या
मलयकेतुरपि तत्क्षणमेव सैन्यैः सद्व देशमयासीद् । वैरोधकस्तु

चाणक्येनाश्वासितः राज्यार्थलाभलोभेन तत्त्वैवाचात्सीद् ।

एवं स्थिते पूर्वमपकान्तो राक्षसः पलायितं मलयकेतुं निशम्य नमाग्रित्य प्रत्यथौपीत्—‘दुरात्मना चाणक्यद्वत्केनासाकं स्वामि-कुलम् अकस्मादेव नाशिनम्, तदप्यास्ताम्, असाक्षमत्यन्त—मित्रं देवः पर्वतकेश्वरः छग्ना व्यापादितः, सचाणक्यं चन्द्र-गुप्तमुन्मूल्य भवन्तमेवाभिपेद्यामि’ इति । मलयकेतुरपि राक्षस-महिमाभित्तिः तथेति स्वीकृत्य राक्षसं प्रधानसचिवपदे स्थापय-मास । तत्र च मलयकेतोः स्वाधीनाः पञ्च राजानः कौलूता-धिपाश्चिक्रमार्गाः, मलयाधिपः निःडनादः, काश्वीराधिपतिः पुष्क-राक्षः, सिंधुदेशाधिपः सिंधुसेनः, पारसीकाधिराजो मेघाद्व-इति । तान् राक्षसो मलयकेतुथावोचताम्—‘युध्माकं साहा-येन चन्द्रगुतो जितःयः, अनन्तरं च चन्द्रगुतस्य विषयद्वस्त्य-ग्रादिकं युध्ममयं दात्यावः’ इति । तेऽपि राजानस्तथेति स्वीकृत्य तत्त्वैव सेनासद्गाहं कुर्वन्तोऽयसन् । ते च राक्षसस्य गुणातिशय-मालोपय तस्मिन् पिशिष्यानुरक्ता वभूतुः ।

राक्षसोऽपि तैः सद्व तत्र वसन् चारमुखेन प्रत्यद्वं कुसुमपुर-वासिनां जीवस्तिद्विप्रभृतीनां स्वसुहृदां चाणक्यचन्द्रगुप्तद्रोहार्थं प्रोत्साहनं कुर्वन्नास्त । एवं स्थिते चाणक्यः कुसुमपुरवासिनः सर्वान् शिविषनः सूतधारांश्च समाहृय जादिदेश—‘मस्यां राक्षौ चन्द्रगुतस्य राजभयनप्रवेशाय दैवहृष्टमुहृतो निरूपितः, अतो नगरद्वारस्य दृष्टियेव मार्गो युध्माभिः परिष्कर्तःयः’ इति । तत-

स्त्रियदन्—‘आर्य ! प्रथममेव देवस्य चन्द्रगुप्तस्य नन्दभवतप्रवेशो
 भविष्यतीति सूक्तधारेण दाहवर्मणा कनकतोरणन्यासादिभि-
 संस्कृतं राजभवतद्वारम्, अस्माभिरिदानीम् अभ्यस्तरे सस्कार
 आधेयः’ इति । तच्छ्रुत्वा दाहवर्मणा गुद्धिमोहाद्रागप्रकर्णंद्वा
 नियोगकालमप्रतीक्षमाणेन संस्कृतं राजभवतद्वारमिति धार-
 क्षयस्य चेतसि यत्त्वान् वितर्को जात । प्रकाशं च तान् सन्तुष्ट-
 इवाचष्ट-‘दाहवर्मन् ! अचिरादस्य दाक्ष्यस्यानुरूपं फलमधिग-
 मिष्यति’ इति । ततश्चानुकूललग्नवशादर्घरात्रे चन्द्रगुप्तस्य नन्द-
 भवतप्रवेशो भविष्यतीति शिल्पिनः पौराण्य भावितार्थान् कृत्वा
 तस्मिन्नेव क्षणे पर्वतकेश्वरभ्रातरं वैरोधकं चन्द्रगुप्तेन सदैकासने
 निवेदय कृतः पृथग्गीविभागः । ततश्च प्रथममेव प्रकाशिते चन्द्र-
 गुप्तस्य नन्दभवतप्रवेशो कृताभिषेके किल विमलमुक्तागुणपरिक्षेप-
 विराचितचित्रपटमणिमयापवारणप्रच्छादितशरीरे मणिमकुटनि-
 यमितदचिरतरमौलौ सुरभिकुसुमवैरक्षयावभासितविपुलवक्ष-
 स्त्वले परिचिततमैररिभपरिद्वायमानाकृतौ चाणकपत्त्वानुरूपा-
 चन्द्रगुप्तोपवाहिनीं चन्द्रलेखां नाम वशामारुद्धा चन्द्रगुप्तानुपा-
 पिना राजलोकेनानुगम्यमाने नन्दस्य भवनं प्रविशति वैरोधके
 राधसप्रयुक्तेन सूक्तधारेण दाहवर्मणा चन्द्रगुप्तोऽयमिति मम्य-
 मानेन वैरोधकस्योपरि निपातनाय सञ्चीष्टकं यन्त्रतोरणम् ।
 अत्रान्तेरपद्धिर्निर्गृहीतयादेषु स्थितेषु चन्द्रगुप्तानुयायिषु, राधस-
 प्रयुक्तेन चन्द्रगुप्ततिपादिना चन्द्रगुप्तोऽयमिति वैरोधकं इति-

कामेन यंत्रकेण कनकदण्डकान्तर्दिवाम् असिपुत्रिकामाक्षु-
कामेन अवलम्बिता करेण कनकश्टुलमिखलावलमित्यनी कनक-
दण्डका । ततः जघनाभिघातमुत्प्रेक्षमाणा यजवधूः अति-
जगतया नातिभेदमासादितवती । प्रथमगतानुरोधप्रत्याकलि-
तमुकेन प्रथमेष्टुलद्यं पतता यन्त्रतोरणेन चन्द्रगुस्युद्धा वैरो-
धकं हन्तुं समुत्कृष्टकृपाणपाणिः अनासादयन्नेव च ते हतो
यंत्रकः । ततो दारुवर्मणा यन्त्रतोरणनिपात आत्मविनाश-
माक्रफलम् अवधार्य सञ्चरमेव उत्तुङ्गतोरणमारुद्धा यन्त्रवद्ध-
नलोटकीलमादाय यन्त्रतोरण निपात्य दस्तिनीगत एव हत-
स्तपस्ती वैरोधकः । ततो दारुधर्माणिपि वैरोधकपुरस्तरेण पदागति-
लोकेन नैकलोप्रधातेन पश्चुमार्द मारितः । एवम् भर्घराज्य-
हरं दैरोधकं, चन्द्रगुस्त हन्तुकामं दारुधर्माणं घातयित्वा, अक्षतेन
चन्द्रगुसेन स चाणक्यो नन्दमवनं प्रविषेश ।

तदनन्तरं राक्षसप्रणायिना नभयद्विनास्ता राजैद्येन चन्द्र-
गुताय औषधमुपहृतम् । तच्च स्वयं प्रत्यक्षीकुर्वता चाणक्येन
कनकभाजने वर्णान्तरमुपलभ्य आभिद्वितश्चन्द्रगुसः — 'वृपल !
सविप्रमौपदं न पातव्यम्' इति । ततश्च स एव वैद्यस्तदौपदं
पापितश्च उपरतश्च ।, तदार्द्दा चन्द्रगुतस्य शयने अधिकृतः
चन्द्रगुस्त गृद्ध निष्ठन्तुं राक्षसप्रेरितः प्रमोदको नाम राक्षसेन पूर्व-
मेवातिख्युष मदान्तसर्वराशिमवाप्य महता व्ययेनोपभोक्तुमा-
रणः । स च चाणक्येनाहृष्य कुतस्त्वायं भूयान् धनागम इति

पृच्छायमानो वाक्यमेदान् वहूनवादीत् । तदा चाणस्यादेशाद्विवित्वधेन व्यापादितः प्रमोदकः । शयितस्य चन्द्रगुप्तस्य शरीरे प्रतिइन्तुं राक्षसेन प्रयुक्ता वीभत्सकादयः नरपतिशयन-गृहाभ्यन्तरे अन्तस्तुरद्वामुपेत्य प्रथममेचावसन् । एवंस्थिते चन्द्रगुप्तप्रवेशात् प्राक् शयनगृहे प्रविष्टेन चाणक्येनावलोकितं तद् गृहम् । ततः कस्माद्विद्वित्तिचित्तिद्वाद् गृहीतभृष्टशयवानां पिपीलिकानां पर्क्षिनिष्कामन्तीमवलोक्य पुष्टगर्भेतद् गृह-मिति गृहीतार्थं चाणक्यस्तदेव शयनगृहमदाद्यत् । तस्मिंश्च दह्यमाने धूमावचद्वद्वयः प्रथमविहितं मार्गमनधिगम्य वीभत्स-कादयः तत्रैव उवलनमुपगताः ।

ततः प्रभृति सहस्रगुणमप्रमत्तशाणक्य आसीत् । एतम् इदद्युं भविष्यतीति कुसुमपुरवासिनः राक्षसस्यात्पुरुषान्विष्टातुं नाभावेषान् प्रणिधीन् प्रेपयामास । तदान्तो चाणक्य । राक्षसस्य पराक्रमातिशयं नीतिशखे पारीणतां स्वामिभक्तिशङ्कर्यं च पर्योलोक्य 'राक्षसमेव चन्द्रगुप्तस्यामात्यपदे स्थापयितुं यदो विधेयः , इतरथा चन्द्रगुप्तराज्यलहम्या । स्मैर्यं न सम्भवति, तं च स्थापयित्वा तीर्णप्रनिशार्पेन मया तपस्तप्तुं पूर्ववदाध्यं गम्तव्यः ; राक्षसश्च स्वामिभक्त्यनिशयेन न कदाचिदप्यस्तानि-सम्बद्धास्यति । तस्माद्वनगत्त इति उपायेतेव गृहीतव्यः , प्रथमं च कर्मस्थिदपि जीवति नभास्तवागाययवे वृष्टलस्य साचिन्यं ग्रादयितुं न शक्यते ; तदभियोगं प्रति तु निरुद्योगः गत्योऽ

वस्यापायितुम्' इति पर्यालोचय तपोवनगते तपस्तिनं नन्दवंशयिं सर्वार्थसिद्धि वातितवान् । पुनरपि राष्ट्र नप्रदणे उपायमन्विष्यन् अवतिष्ठ । तदानीं चन्द्रगुतोऽपि चाणक्यानुशया पर्वतकेश्वरस्य पारलौकिकं निर्वनेयन् पर्वतकेश्वरेण धारितपूर्वाणि महाधार्मणाभरणानि चाणक्यप्रोवितेभ्यः विश्वावसुप्रभृतिभ्यः विभ्यो भ्रातुभ्यो दानं ददौ । तांश्च गृहीताभरणान् चाणक्यो रहस्याद्युय 'इमान्याभरणानि' मलयकेतुकटके राक्षसनिकटे विक्रीयागच्छत्' इति प्रेषयमास । ते च तथेति गत्वा तान्याभरणानि राक्षसाण दर्शयमासुः । राक्षसोऽपि पर्वतकेश्वरस्याभरणानीत्यज्ञानन् महाधार्मणाभरणानीनि पश्यन् क्रयाणीति यद्युतरेण मूल्येन वान् सन्तोष्य तान्याभरणानि स्वकोशगृहे स्थापयमास ।

एवं स्थिते चाणक्यप्रोरितेषु चारेषु निषुणको नाम कश्चित् परच्छदप्रवेशं अशाङ्कनीयं यमपटमादाय प्रतिगृहं धर्मसुषदिशन् भिक्षुमाणः कदाचित् पुण्यपुरुत्वास्तिनः मणिरारथोऽनुनश्चन्दनदासस्य गृहं प्रविष्टवाच् । तत्र च प्रविद्य परमपटं प्रतार्य धर्मगीतानि गायंशास्त् । तस्मिंश्च गायति तच्छुत्वा कोतूहलोऽनुकूलनयन् अत्यन्तमुकुमाराकुतिः पञ्चवर्षदेवयः कश्चन कुमारः कस्माच्चिदपर्वरकात् निजंगाम । ततश्च 'हा निर्गतो हा निर्गतः' इति तस्यापवरकस्य मध्ये महानवलाजनस्य कोलाहलः समुद्भास । तत्र काचिदत्यन्तमुदरी ईपद्रदारेशादर्शितमुखी वह्निः

प्रसारितेन पाणिना शृण्येव तं वालकमादाय अन्तर्गतवती । तस्याथ कुमारसंरोधचलिताङ्गुलिपहृवात्करकमलाद् गलिता पुरुपाङ्गुलिप्रमाणघटिता सुद्रिका भूमौ निष्पत्य चक्रभ्रमेण भ्रमन्ती निपुणकपादमूलं गता । सा च खी तन्मुद्रापतनं न व्यातवती । निपुणकोऽपि तन्मुद्रामादाय तस्यां लिखितानि राक्षसस्य नामाक्षराणि वाचयित्वा, 'राक्षसस्येय सुद्रिका, सा च राक्षसगृहिणी यस्याः करादियं निष्पतिता, स च कुमारो राक्षसस्यैव, नैन सुहृत्तमस्य चन्दनदासस्य गृहे कलबपुत्रादिकं भ्यासीरुत्य राक्षसो निर्गतः' इति निश्चित्य तां सुद्रिकामादाय चाणक्यसमीपं गत्या तां सुद्रिकां दत्या चृतान्तं च सर्वं निवेदितवान् ।

चाणक्योऽपि तन्मुद्रालाभेन नितान्तमानन्दितः अतयैव मुद्रया राक्षसो ग्रहीतव्य इति निश्चित्य किञ्चिचन्पद्म लिखितवान् । ततश्च राक्षसस्य प्रियवयस्येन शक्टदासेन पूर्वमेव कपटसर्पं ग्राहितं सिद्धार्थकमाहूय तच्च पत्रं दत्वा 'एभिरसैः केनापि किमपि कस्यापि खयं वाच्यम्' इति अदत्तयाद्यनामाने लेखं शक्टदासेन लेखयित्वा मासुपतिषुस, न चारण्येयमसै चाणक्यो लेखयति' इत्येवमादिष्टवान् । सिद्धार्थकोऽपि तथा शक्टदासेन लेखयित्वा तं लेखं चाणक्यं दर्शयामास । चाणक्योऽपि सर्वैव मुद्रया त लेखं मुद्रयित्वा, लेपे मुद्रा च सिद्धार्थकदस्तेऽपर्यित्वा, तमादृ-कस्त्रिमिच्चदासजनानुषेष्ये कर्मणि त्वां व्यापारयितुमिच्छामि ; तस्मिन् विषये त्वया सिद्धार्थक

इति नामं पथार्थं कर्तव्यम् । तत् किमिति चेत् ‘शकटदासस्ता-
वद्राजाक्षया शूलमारोपयितुं नेत्रयते, प्रथमेव तदया वैयस्यानं
गत्वा घाटकास्सरोपं दक्षिणाक्षिसद्वोचसंज्ञा प्राहयितव्या, तत-
त्तेषु गृहीतसद्वेषु भयापदेशादितस्ततः प्रद्वेषु शकटदासो
वैयस्यानादपर्वीय राक्षसं प्रापयितव्यः । तस्माच्च सुहृत्प्राण-
परिरक्षणपरितुष्टात् पारितोपिकं ग्राह्यम् । राक्षस एव कठिच-
काळं सेवितव्यः, तत् प्रत्यासन्नेषु वलेषु प्रयोजनमिदमनुष्टेयम्’
इति कर्णे कम्पयर्थं कथयामास । अयमर्थः पूर्वोक्तलेखार्थश्च
पश्चात् स्फुटीभवित्यति ।

सिद्धार्थकोऽपि तथेति चाणक्यं प्रणश्य निर्गतः । चाणक्योऽ-
पि ‘अविसिद्धिर्नाम क्षपणकः राक्षसप्रयुक्तः विपक्ष्यया पर्वत-
केश्वरं घातितवान्, स एतमेव दोपं प्रख्याप्य सनिकार नगरा-
चिर्वास्यताम्; यश्चायमपरं कायस्यः शकटदासो नाम राक्षस-
प्रयुक्तो नित्यमसुच्छरीरमभिद्वोऽधुं यतते, स चाप्येन दोपे
प्रख्याप्य शूलमारोप्यताम्, गृहजनश्चास्य वन्धनागारं प्रवेश्य-
ताम्’ इत्याप्य मणिकारथोऽप्तिन चन्द्रनदासमानयामास । चाण-
क्येनाहृतमात्रः स्वगृहस्थितैः घनसेनप्रमुखैः राक्षसकुद्रम्य रद्ध-
स्यन्यत नीत्वा चाणक्यमान्तवान् । चाणक्येन च ‘राक्षसेन
भवद्गुहे निद्विव कुद्रुम्यं समर्पय’ इति प्रार्थितोऽपि अपलापमेव
कृतवान् । ततश्चात्यन्तकुपितश्चाणक्य, दुर्गपालमादिदेश-‘अयं
राक्षसस्य कलनं स्वगृहमानीय याच्यमानोऽपि न प्रयच्छति,

तस्माद् गृहीतगृहसारमेति सपुत्रक्षलं च सयम्य रक्ष यासम्या
घृपलाय कर्यते ; घृपल पत्रात्य प्राणहरं दण्डमाङ्गापिधिष्ठिति
इति । तच्छुभ्वा दुर्गपाल । तथेति चन्दनदासेन सद् निर्गत ।
चन्दनदासोऽपि सुदृकार्यपरतया प्राणपरित्यागेऽपि निर्भय
रवासीत । चाणकशोऽप्यालोचयामास—

“त्यजत्यप्रियवत्प्राणान्यथा यस्यायमापदि ।

तथैवात्यापदि प्राणाः नूनं तस्यापि न प्रिया ॥

तस्मादिदार्त्तो लब्धो राक्षस” इति ।

ततश्च सनिकारं नगराद्विर्बासितः क्षणकः राक्षससमीप
गत्या पूर्ववदास्त । शक्टदासमपि पूर्वोक्तप्रकारेण वृद्धभूमे-
रादायापकान्त । सिद्धार्थक । तच्च थुत्वा सन्तुष्टेन वह्नि परि-
कुपिवेतेऽपि चाणकेन शक्टदासप्रदणार्थं प्रेपिता इति पूर्वमेव
रदसि चाणकयेनावृत्ताः भागुरायणभद्रभट्टपुरुषदत्तदिङ्गरातवल-
गुतराजसेनरोदिताक्षविजयवर्माणोऽपि मलयकेतुकटक प्रति
पलाययमृतु । चाणकशोऽपि तच्छुभ्वा चहुक्षोपमभिनयन् सर्वा-
न्प्रादरातीति ॥ रादृत् ॥ इति राक्षसो गृहीत इति निश्चिन्द्रन्
आस्त ।

परं स्थिते रातनशणिधिः आहितुषिडक्षवेषो विराघगुतो
नाम राक्षसनिर्गमात्प्रभृति शक्टदासस्य शूलारोपणाय नयन-
पर्यन्तं सर्वं कुसुमपुरवृत्तान्तं विचार्य मलयकेतुकटकं गत्या राक्ष-
साय न्यजेदपत् । राधक्षोऽपि दायवर्मप्रभृतीनां पर्यं थुत्वा

विवरणोऽमवत् । प्रियसुहृदः शक्टदासस्य शूलारोपणं निशम्य
शोकसागरमः भृशमधूणे मुञ्चन् स्थितवान् । तदानीमेव
शक्टदासः सिद्धार्थकेन सह राक्षससमीपं गत्वा प्रणतवान् ।
राक्षसोऽपि मृत्युमुखात्प्रमुकमिष्य पुनर्जातमिव शक्टदासं दृष्टा
सरमत्सुत्याय बालिक्षण्यकेन भवान् शूलारोपणादक्षित इति
पृष्ठवान् । शक्टदासोऽपि 'अनेन प्रियसुहृदा सिद्धार्थकेन चा-
णक्यस्त्वयुमुखात्परिरक्ष्य अमात्यपादमूलम् आनीतोऽस्मि' इति
सिद्धार्थकं दर्शितवान् । राक्षसोऽपि करिष्यदिनेष्टः पूर्वं मलय-
केतुना भ्रेणा स्वगात्रादवतार्य प्रेषितानि तदानीं स्वयं धूना-
न्याभरणानि सिद्धार्थकाय पारितोषिकं दत्तवान् । सिद्धार्थ-
कोऽपि लहर्ये गृहीत्वा पादयोनिपत्त्य राक्षसे विद्वापितवान्-
'चाणक्यदत्कस्य विप्रियं कृत्वा पुत्रापि पाटलीपुरे प्रवेष्टु न
गम्यमिति अमात्यपादा जानन्त्येव , तसादमात्यगादे एव
शुभ्रप्राणः अत्रैव धस्तुमिच्छामि ; तथा मे प्रसादः कर्तव्यः ;
इदं च पारितोषिकम् अनया मुद्रया मुद्रितम् अमात्यस्यैव माण्डा-
गारे तिष्ठतु ; यदा मे प्रयोजनं तदा ग्रहीयामि' इत्युक्त्या, 'भद्र-
एवं कियताम्, अस्माकमत्यन्तं प्रियम्' इति राक्षसेनोक्ते, तयैव
मुद्रया पारितोषिकं मुद्रित्वा राक्षसस्य भाण्डागारे स्थापया-
मास । तदानीं राक्षसः तां मुद्रां स्वनामाद्वितामालोक्त, 'उक्त-
ण्डाविनोदनार्थं नगराविष्कामतो मम दस्ताद् गृहिण्या गृहीता
मुद्रा, कथमन्यदस्त्वप्रागता' इत्यालोक्यन् प्रपञ्चतु —'भद्र विद्वा-

र्थकं । कुतस्त्वयेषं मुद्रा अधिगता' इति । सिद्धार्थकोऽपि प्रस्तवादीत्-'अस्ति कुसुमपुरे मणिकारथेष्टि च दनदासो नाम, तस्य गृद्धारे पतिता इय मुद्रिका समासादिता' इति । राक्षसोऽपि तच्छुभा युक्तमिति मन्यमानः वहुतरेण मूल्येन सिद्धार्थक सन्तोष्य ता मुद्रां गृहीत्वा 'इतः परमनयैव मुद्रया स्वाधिकारे व्यवहर्तव्यम्' इति शकटदासहस्रे दत्तवान् । सोऽपि तथाऽस्तिवति गृहीत्वा पूर्वं पत्स्वाधिकारं पालयन्नास्त ।

भागुरायणोऽपि रद्दसि चाणक्यानुमत्या पुण्यपुरात्मिर्गत्य मलयकेतुसमीपं गतः । मलदकेतुनाऽपि चाणक्यादनेन सम प्राणाः परिरक्षिता इति कुतश्चतया सौहृदेन च स्वस्यान् तथा धिकारे स्थापितो भागुरायणः राक्षसमलयकेतुभेदनाय समयं प्रतीक्षमाणोऽवर्तत । भद्रभट्टप्रभृतयोऽपि पुण्यपुरात्पलापिता सन्तः मलयकेतुसेनापतिं शिखरकं द्वारीहृत्य मलयकेतु दृष्टवत् । सोऽप्येते चाणक्यापरागेण समागता इति सेनाधिपत्यगजा-स्थापित्यादितत्तुचिताधिकारेषु तान् स्थापितवान् । राक्षसोऽपि चाणक्यच-द्रगुप्तभेदनाय प्रयतमानः तदर्थं चारान् पुण्यपुरे प्रति प्रेपयन्नास्त ।

परं स्थिते चाणक्यश्चन्द्रगुप्ते रद्दस्यवादिव— 'मामन्तरेण त्वया किञ्चित्कालं व्यवहर्तव्यम्; मदाश्चोह्नहृष्णनादिकमपित्ययोऽस्ति तत्त्वं, तेन चासाकं किञ्चित्कार्यं साधनीयमस्ति' इति । चन्द्रगुप्तोऽपि कथञ्चित्तपेत्यहृष्णिकार । ततः कदाचिद्द्विष्ट-

त्थारम्भे नगरे कौमुदीमदोत्सवः कर्तव्य इति चन्द्रगुप्तः पौरा-
नाशापयामास । पौराश्वातीव सन्तोपयभजन् । चाणक्यस्तु
तच्छ्रुत्वा कौमुदीमदोत्सवे न कर्तव्य इति पौराधिपिद्वान् । ततश्च
अप्रवृत्तकौमुदीमदोत्सवं कुसुमपुरमग्नेयं रुष्णश्चन्द्रगुप्तं, चाण
क्येन प्रतिपिद्वः कौमुदीमदोत्सवं इति श्रुत्वा चाणक्यमाहूय
पश्चात् 'किमर्थमार्येण कौमुदीमदोत्सवः प्रतिपिद्व ? न कदा-
चिदार्थ्य निष्प्रयोजना पत्रिति ' इति । चाणक्य प्रत्युत्ताच—
'राजन् ! शून्याम्, इह खलगर्वेशाख्य नाराख्यविधा तिक्तिसुप
वर्णयाम्न, तथाया—राज यत्ताय, निवियत्ताम्, उभयायत्ता
चेति, तत्त्वनिवियत्तमिदेभेवत् । किं प्रयोजनान्वेपणन ?'
तच्छ्रुत्वा चन्द्रगुप्तं सरोप इति मुखं परावर्तयामास । एतसि-
ष्टते राक्षसप्रयुक्तो वैतालिकश्चन्द्रगुप्तमुपश्छोकितवान्—

'भूषणानुपयोगेन प्रभुर्षेष्वति न पभु ।
परैरनभिभूताद्वाहस्त्रमव प्रभुरुच्यते ॥'

आकृप्य चाणक्यो राक्षसस्याय प्रयोग इति शातगान् । चन्द्र-
गुप्तस्तु तस्मै वैतालिकाय स्वर्णाना दशमहस्त दयमित्याशापया-
मास । चाणक्यस्तु 'न देवप् किमयमस्थाने महानवौत्सर्गः क्रि-
यते' इत्याह । चन्द्रगुप्तोऽपि 'मायेणैव सर्वत्र नियद्वेषणप्रसरस्य
पन्धनमिष्ट राज्य न स्वदते' (इत्याह) । चाणक्य आह—'स्वयमन
भियुक्ताना राष्ट्रामेते दोषा भग्नित, तद्यदि न सहसे तत् स्वय

मेगभियुद्धव्य'। चन्द्रगुप्त आह— 'एते वयमेव स्वकर्मण्यभियु-
ज्यामहे'। चाणक्य आह— 'कल्याण न., वयमपि स्वकर्मण्यभि-
युज्यामहे'। चन्द्रगुप्त आह— 'यदेव ताहि कौमुदीमहोत्सवप्रति-
पेष्यस्य व्रयोजन थोतुमिच्छामि । चाणक्य आह— 'कौमुदीमहो
त्सवानुष्टानस्य किं फलमिति वयमपि थोतुमिच्छाम'। चन्द्र-
गुप्त आह— 'प्रथम तावनमाहाव्याधात'। चाणक्य आह—
'ममापि त्वदाहाव्याधात एव प्रतिषेदस्य प्रयम व्रयोजनम्, वय
द्वितीय व्रयोजनमपि थोतुमिच्छामि, तर्हि कथयामि, इति अप-
क्षम्य मलयकेतु समाधितैः भद्रभट्टप्रभृतिभि विज्ञातमर्मा राज्ञ
सापदेशप्रवण' महीयसा म्लेच्छाज्ञवलेन परिवृत्पि तृत्वधा
मपितः मलयकेतुरसानभियोऽमुद्यत. , सोऽय व्यायामकाल
नोत्सवकाल इति, अत दुर्गंसस्कारे प्रारब्धे किं कौमुदी
महोत्सवेन' इति प्रतिपिद्धम् ।

चन्द्रगुप्त आह— 'आर्य ! यद्यु प्रष्टव्यमव्वास्ति'। चाणक्य
आह— 'विश्वव्यं पृच्छ, मया वद्वाख्येयमत्त'। चन्द्रगुप्त आह— 'एष
पृच्छामि'। चाणक्य आह— 'एष कथयामि'। चन्द्रगुप्त आह—
'योऽसाक्ष्य नर्यस्यानर्थम् देतुः स मलयकेतुरपकामन कस्मा-
दुपेक्षित ?' चाणक्य आह— 'मलयकेतोरपक्षमणोऽनुपेक्षिते द्वे गती
स्याताम्, तन्य निग्रहो या पूर्णप्रतिश्रुतराज्यार्थदान या, निग्रहे
तावदम्य अस्मामि. एवंतको दृत इति ऊतप्रताया. स्य दस्तो
दत्त स्यात् । प्रतिश्रुतराज्य(र्ध)दने तु एवंतकपिताम् रैवल-

मेष छत्रघ्नतामात्रफलः स्यादिति मलयकेतुरपकामन्तुपेक्षितः । चन्द्रगुप्त आह—‘अस्तु तायदेवम् ; राक्षसस्तु पुनरिद्वौन्तर्नंगरे यत्तमानः आर्येणोपेक्षित इत्यत्र किमुत्तरम् ?’ चाणक्य आह—‘राक्षसोऽपि यलु खामिनि स्थिरानुरागत्वात्सुचिरमेकत्र वासाच्च नन्दानुरक्तानां प्रकृतीनामत्यन्तविश्वस्यः प्रज्ञापुरुषकाराभ्यामुपेतः सहायसम्पदा युक्तः कोशावानन्तर्नंगरे यत्तमानः महान्तमुत्पादयेदन्तःक्षोभम् ; दूरीकृतस्तु वाह्यक्षोभमुत्पादयन्नपि न दुःसाध्यो भविष्यति, इत्यपकामन्तुपेक्षितः ; चिकम्य गृह्यमाणस्तु अमद्वृलानि नाशयेत्, स्वर्य वा नशयेत् ; एवं च मति तद्ग्रहणे एनावानसाकं यज्ञो व्यथः स्यात्’ इति । चन्द्रगुप्त आह—‘न शक्तिमो वयमार्यस्य वाचं वाचाऽतिशयितुम् ; सर्वथा अमात्यराक्षस एव प्रशास्यतरः’ । चाणक्य आह—‘न मधानिति वाक्यशेषः ; किं नेन राक्षसेन छत्रम् ?’

चन्द्रगुप्तः—‘किमायेण कृतम् ?’

चाणक्यः—‘सान्वयं नन्दम् उद्भव्य भवान् राज्ये प्रतिष्ठापितः ।’

चन्द्रगुप्तः—‘नन्दकुलद्वेषिणा दैर्घ्येनेदमनुष्ठितम् ।’

चाणक्यः—‘दैर्घ्यविद्वांसः प्रमाणयन्ति ।’

चन्द्रगुप्तः—‘विद्वांसोऽप्यविकर्त्यना मधानिति ।’

तच्छ्रुत्या चाणक्यः महान्तं कोपमभिनीय, पुतः कोणं मंहत्य, ‘कृपल ! बैलमुत्तरोत्तरेण ; यद्यस्मचो राक्षसः प्रशास्यो भवति, तद्विद्युत्तमिदं शक्यम्’ इति शब्दमुत्तुज्य स्वगृहमयाप्तीत् । चन्द्र-

गुप्तोऽप्यनादत्य चाणक्यं राजकार्याणि करिष्यतीति 'नगरे प्रणयापनमाज्ञाप्य अन्तःपुरं प्रविष्टवान् । अयं च सर्वो वृत्तान्तः करभक्तमुखेन राक्षसेन ज्ञातः ।

एवं स्थिते कदाचिन्मलयकेतुभागुरायणं प्रस्याद 'सखे भागुरायण ! विज्ञापितोऽहमागच्छाद्विः भद्रभट्टप्रभृतिभिः यथा न वयममात्यराक्षसद्वारेण कुमारमाथयामहे , किन्तु कुमारस्य सेनापाति शिखरसेन द्वारोक्तु दुष्टामात्यपरिगृहीतचन्द्रगुप्ताद् अपरकाः कुमारमाथयामहे इनि ; तशप्रभृति पर्यालोचयन्नपि तेषां तात्पर्यं न जानामि ; अस्माकमत्यन्तं हिततप प्रियतम च राक्षसं परित्यज्य द्वारान्तराश्रयणे किं कारणम्' इति । ततो भागुरायणः प्राह—'कुमार ! एवमेतत् ; राक्षसस्य तावच्चाणक्योऽप्येव द्वेष', न चन्द्रगुप्ते ; कदाचिच्चन्द्रगुप्तः दृतं चाणक्यमम-हमानः निराकरोति चेत् , ततो राक्षसः नन्दकुलीनोऽयमिति भक्त्या संयतसुहङ्गनमोक्षप्रेक्षया चन्द्रगुप्तेन सद सन्दधीत । एवं सत्यसात्यपि कुमारो न विश्वसेदिति भद्रभट्टादीनां तात्पर्यं स्पष्टमेव' इति । तच्छुत्वा मलयकेनुः भागुरायणोक्तं शुक्रमेवेनि गृहीतयान् । ततद्य राक्षसचारैः स्तनकलशादिमिभैर्दितः चन्द्र-गुप्तश्चाणक्यं निराकृतयानिति वृत्तान्तथ्रयणेन मलयकेतोमेनमि भागुरायणोक्तमेव ददीकृतमासीत् । तदमन्तरं राक्षसे सन्देश-यानपि मलयकेतुः कार्यार्थं पूर्वयदेव विश्वासयुक्त इवासीत् । एवं सिप्ते कुसुमपुरोपरोधाय मलयकेतुराक्षसादयः सेनामेः

सह प्रवस्थिरे । तदानीं राक्षसः चित्रवर्मप्रसृतीन् एव राजः
मलयकेतुरेक्षणाय मलयकेतुं परिवार्यांगन्तव्यमित्याश्राप्य इतरा-
नपि मागचगान्धारयवनादीन् सेनामुखादिपु स्थातुं यथायोग्य-
मादाप्यामास । तदा च दिने दिने कुसुमपुरे सविद्विने सति,
चाणक्यचाराः कपटेनागत्य अन्तमेदादिकं करिष्यन्तीति
राक्षसेन काचिद् व्यवस्था 'कृता मुद्राचिद्वितैरेव पुरुषैः अस्तकट-
काद्विग्नन्तव्यमागन्तव्यमिति च' इति । तमुद्रादाने च भागु-
रायणो नियुक्तः ।

एवं स्थिते क्षणको जीवसिद्धिः राक्षसेन सह कसाधि-
कारणादिरोधमभिनीय भागुरायणसमीपं गत्वा कटकाद्विदि-
ग्मनाय सुद्रां प्रार्थयामास । भागुरायणोऽपि 'असिन् कलि
मत्यन्तमितम् यमात्यराक्षसं विद्वाय तव प्रस्थाने किं कारणम्'
इति पश्चच्छ । जीवसिद्धिरपि प्रस्थाने कारणमनुकृत्यैव 'यत्र राक्ष-
सस्य नामापि न श्रूयते तत्र गच्छामि' इति यददृरात्रमें महात्म-
कोपमयिनयामास । ततो भागुरायणेन निर्यन्धपूर्वकं पृष्ठः कर्त-
व्यदिव द्यययामास—'बद्धं तायन्मन्दभाग्यः प्रथमं राक्षसेन सद-
मिवत्यमुपगतः ; तदानीं राक्षसेन गृह्णं विषक्षयामुत्पाद्य पर्यतकं-
म्बरो द्यापादितः ; तच्छुद्वा चालक्येत देशात्रिर्वासितोऽस्मि ;
इदानीमपि राक्षसेन राजकार्यकुशलेन किमपि तादृग्मारम्भने,
तेनादं द्वोक्षादेव गिर्वामितो भविष्यामि ; तेनादं रात्रमें विद्वाय
यत्र द्वापि गन्तं अवसितोऽस्मि' इति । तच्छुद्वा भागुरायणः

गुहां पूर्वतिथृतप्रतिगादनेव सत्यं सत्यसम्यः प्रतिपाद-
पितुमहोते । एतेऽप्येवमनुगृहीताः सम्भाः खात्ययोन्मूलेन
मदन्तमात्राध्यायित्वन्ति । अविद्यमृतमप्येत्सत्यवन्तं स्मारयामि ।
तेषां पथे कोचदेवः कोशाइन्तिभ्यामर्थिनः केचिद्विपयार्थिनः ।
भलभुरवयं च श्रीमता यश्चनुशेषिते तदुपगतम् । मयाऽपि
लेखाशाशूभ्यार्थं किञ्चिद्वद्दनुप्रियतम् । वाचिकं च आस्तर्मात्
सिद्धार्थं काच्छ्रोतव्यम्' इति । ततः सिद्धार्थं प्रच्छु 'सिद्धार्थं',
क्षमायं लेखः ॥ वाचिकं तावत् त्वत्तः केव थोतव्यम्' इति ।
ततः किमपि न दानामीति अपलपन्ते सिद्धार्थं पुरुषैस्तादय-
मास । ततस्ताट्यमानस्य नस्य कक्षात् राष्ट्रसमुद्राद्विता आमरण-
पेटिका निपन्निता । ततः इत्येव लेखश्याशूभ्यार्थं मावेष्यतीति
निषिद्धिं तर्तु पेटिकामुदाट्य मलयकेतुः खशीरादवतार्य राष्ट्र-
साय दत्तप्रामरणमपदयत् । ततो मलयकेतुः राष्ट्रसेन चद्र-
गुमाय प्रेषितोऽप्य लेख इति निषिद्धस्य पुनरापि सिद्धार्थं
वाचिकं ब्रह्मोविति तादयामास । ततः सिद्धार्थको मलयकेतो-
चरणोनिषेषतामर्थं प्रार्थयामास । ततो मलयकेतुः 'भद्र !
पराधीनस्य तदाभ्यमेव । परं तु दयायस्तिं कपय' इति मलय-
केतुमोक्षः सिद्धार्थः सर्वे कश्यपामात्— 'कुमार ! भद्रे अमात्य-
राष्ट्रसेन इमं लेखं दत्त्वा चन्द्रगुप्तसकारं प्रेषितोऽस्मि । वाचिकं
ते 'भम प्रियवयस्याः चित्तवर्मादयः पञ्च राजानः । तेषु द्वी
षोहदस्तिभ्यामर्थिनौ, इतरे विषयाभिलापिणः, तसाम् यथा

चाणक्यं निराकृत्य मम प्रियमुत्पादितं तथैतेषामपि पूर्वप्रति-
द्वातार्थः महाराजेन सम्पादनीय' इति ।" तच्छ्रुत्वा मलयकेतुः
चिक्रवर्मादीनां राक्षसे भक्तिं च आलोचय चिक्रवर्मादियोऽपि
महा द्रुह्यन्तीति निश्चित्य राक्षसमानेतुं पुरुषमाज्ञापयामास ।
तेनाहृते राक्षसः पूर्वं मलयकेतुप्रेषिताभरणस्य व्यर्थीकृतत्वाद्
विश्वावसुप्रभृतिभ्यः क्रीतान्याभरणानि धूत्वा मलयकेतुसमीपं
माजगाम । आगत्य च यथा पूर्वं स्वेनानुष्ठितं सेनापा राहा यथा-
योग्यं निवेशन कथयामास । तच्छ्रुत्वा मलयकेतु 'ये चिक्रवर्मा-
दयः महिनाशेन चन्द्रगुप्त आराघयितुमुद्गुका' त परं मा परि-
वृण्वन्ति' इति निश्चित्य राक्षस पृष्ठान्—'आर्य इदानीं कुसुमपुर
यः कश्चित् गच्छुति वा आगच्छुति वा' । राक्षस आह—'नास्ति
इदानीं गमनागमनप्रयोजनम् ; क्वतिपैषैदिनैः वयोमेष तत्र यास्या-
मः ।' मलयकेतुराह—'यदेवम्, किमर्थमत्येण कुसुमपुरं प्रति-
सिद्धार्थकहस्ते लेखं प्रेषितः' । राक्षस आह—'अये सिद्धार्थकं
किं तत्?' तत सवाप्य सिद्धार्थकः प्राह—'ताडितेन मया कथितं
रहस्यम् ।' तत कीदृशा रहस्यमिति राक्षसेन पृष्ठोऽपि तृणी-
मघोमुखस्तस्यौ । तत स्वामिनः पुरस्ताद् भीतो लज्जितो वा
सिद्धार्थको न कथियिथतीति भागुरायणः स्वयमाद् यथा 'अह-
ममात्यराक्षसेन लेखं दत्त्वा वाचिकं च सन्दिश्य चन्द्रगुप्तस्य
सकागे प्रस्थापित इति सिद्धार्थकं कथयति' इति । तच्छ्रुत्वा
राक्षस प्राह—'ताडितोऽय मिथ्या कथयति । ताडित किं या

न ग्राहाद् ॥ इति । ततो मलयकेतुः प्राह-‘तद्विं भागुरायण ! राक्ष-
समुद्रालाङ्गितं लेखं राक्षसस्य दर्शय’ इति । तद् दृष्ट्वा राक्षसः
प्राह ‘मुद्रा लेखयमपि कपटनोत्पादयितुं शक्यते’ इति । ततो
मलयकेतुः प्राह-‘तद्विं लेखस्य अशून्यार्थम् इदमाभरणजातम्
आर्येणानुप्रेपितम् ; तत्कर्थमेतदपि कपट स्यात् ॥’ । राक्षसः प्राह-
‘इदमाभरणं न मया प्रेपितम्, किन्तु कस्मिन्निष्ठत् परितोषस्थाने
सिद्धार्थकाय दत्तम् ॥’ । भागुरायण याह-‘अमात्म ! कुमारेण
अगाक्षादवतार्य दत्तस्य ईदशभूषणस्य ईदशाय दानमिति कथं
थद्वेष्यम् ? भद्र सिद्धार्थक ! केनायं लिखितो लेख ॥ ?’ । ततो राक्ष-
सस्य मुख्यपवलोक्य तृणां स्थित्या पुनश्च ताडितः ‘शकटदासेन
लिखितो लेख’ इत्याह । ततो राक्षसोऽपि ‘यदि शकटदासेन
लिखितः तद्विं मयैव लिखित’ इत्याह । ततो भागुरायणः प्राह-
‘शकटदासोऽपि राक्षसस्य पुरतः स्वयं लिखिनामिति नाक्षी-
करिष्यति ; तस्मात् शकटदासस्य प्रतिलिखिते राक्षसमुद्रा च
आनीयताम्’ इति पुरुषमाङ्गाप्य तेन आनीने राक्षसोऽपि संवादं
दृष्ट्वा शकटदासेनैव शक्त्रपक्षपातिना कपटः प्रयोगः कुत इति
निश्चितवान् । ततो मलयकेतुः राक्षसेन धूनं स्वपितुः अलङ्कार-
क्षयं विलोक्य एतदेव अलङ्कारक्षयं लेखे लिखितं चन्द्रगुसेन
राक्षसाय प्रेपितमिति निदिचत्य राक्षसं पश्चात्—‘एतदाभरण-
क्षयं कुत् प्राप्तम्’ इति । ततो राक्षसः विषिणिः क्रीतमित्याह ।
ततो मलयकेतुः ‘मार्य, तातेन धूनपूर्वाणां विशेषतश्चन्द्रगुसमुप-

गसानाम् ईदशाभरणानां वणिग्रृपः क्रयादधिगम इति न सम्भा-
वितम्' इत्याद् । ततो राक्षसो मनस्यचिन्तयत् 'सुशिष्टोऽप्यमभूत्
गज्ञोः प्रयोगः । कुतः—

लेखोऽयं न ममेति नोत्तरमिद बुद्धा मदीणा यतः
सौहार्दं शक्तेन खणिङ्गतमिति भद्रेयमेतत्कथम् ।
मौर्यं भूपणविक्रय नरपतौ को नाम सम्भावयेत्
तस्मात् संप्रतिपत्तिरेव हि वर न ग्राम्यमत्रोत्तरम् ॥'

इति तृणीं स्थित । ततो मलयकेतु प्राह—'पूर्वमत्यन्तविस्तृत्य मम
पितर पर्वतकेश्वरं विषफन्याप्रयोगेन मारयित्वा इदानीं मामपि
तथा कर्तुम् उत्तुकोऽसीति निश्चितमेव' इति । ततो राक्षसे
'नाह पर्वतकेश्वरे विषफन्यापारोपितवान्' शति कथयति सति,
जीवसिद्धिना तस्य भाव्यामासु (२) । ततो राक्षस दृश्यमपि म
रिष्युणा स्वीकृतमिति निश्चित्य विषफणस्तस्यौ । ततो मलयकेतु-
राक्षसमालोक्य 'नाह भवानिव विस्तृम्भवातो , तद्वच्छ सधां-
स्मता , समाधीयता च द्रगुप्त , च द्रगुप्त च चाणक्यं च त्रिवा च
उमूलयितु समर्थोऽहम्' इत्युस्त्वा राक्षससौहार्देन अस्माक
द्वोऽनुकामान् चित्रवर्मादीन् घातयितु आशापितवान् । ते च तथा
यातिता । राक्षसोऽप्येकाकी वहिर्निर्गत्य आलोचयामास—

'कि गच्छामि तपोवन न तपसा शाम्येत्सैवैर मन
कि भर्तुननुयामि जीवति रिपो खीणामिद चेष्टिरम् ।

किं वा सद्गुसव्यः पताङ्गरिवले नैतव्य युक्तं मधेत् ,
चेतम्यन्दनदासमोक्षरमसं रात्यात्कृतघ्रन्त चेत् ॥

तस्माद्यदर्थं प्राणात्पेक्षः सुहृत्यव्यन्दनदासः कथित्यन्मोच-
यितव्यं इति गृह्णः सत्र कुसुमपुरवाद्यजीर्णोदानमाजगाम ।

ततो मलयकेतोः स्वजनविनाशात् तस्य सेनायां व्याप्त्य
स्थिताः भागुरायणमद्भृत्यभृत्यः मलयकेतुम् अपमेव समय
इति संयम्य गृहीतव्यतः ।

एवं स्थिते तस्मिन् जीर्णोदाने चाणक्यप्रेरितं वन्धनेन प्राण-
त्यागोद्युक्तं कठिनत्पुरुषं हृष्टवा राक्षसः पृष्ठवान्—‘किमर्थं प्राण-
त्याग करोपि’ इति । असौ अकथयन्नपि राक्षसनिर्वधेन कथ-
ित्यत् कथित्यान्—‘भस्त्रिगरे अमात्यराक्षसस्यात्यभ्यमित्रं
चन्दनदासो नाम मणिकारभेष्टी वर्तते ; तत्र सुहृद् विष्णुदात्त
इति कथिद्वियते ; स च मम प्रियवयस्यः ; इदानीं तु वग्निप्रवेशं
कर्तुं तगरात्मिकात्मः ; ततः सुहृद्विरहमपेष्य प्राणत्यागः धेयान्
इति मत्वा मया पद्यमारम्भम्’ इति । इत्थं च पुरुषंण विश्वापितो
राक्षसः पुरुषं प्रति ‘त्वत्सुहृदो विष्णुदात्तस्य मरणोद्योगे किं
कारणम्’ इति पश्चच्छ । पुरुषोऽपि कालहृषणे स्वस्यासमर्ति
भाष्यवित्यमुक्त्यान्—‘योऽप्यं चन्दनदासस्य सुहृद् विष्णुदासो
नाम , स तावत् स्वसुहृद्यन्दनदासस्य राक्षसकृते संयमनमसह-
मानः चन्द्रगुप्तसमीपे गत्वा नर्यविनिमयेन चन्दनदासं मोचयेति
प्राप्तित्यान् ; चन्द्रगुप्तोऽपि नास्माभिरर्थकारणात् चन्दनदासे,

यद्धः, किन्तु अमात्यराक्षसगृहजनमपवार्य वहुशो यावितोऽपि न दत्तवान्, असादेव कारणाद् यद्धः' इत्युक्त्वा पुरः स्थितं जनं प्रति 'यदि चन्दनदासः अमात्यराक्षसस्य गृहजन न समर्पयते तर्हि मारय' इति आदिदेश ; अनन्तरमपि चन्दनदासः सुदृढात्सत्येन अमात्यराक्षसगृहजनं न समर्पितवान् ; नीतश्च वध्यस्थानम् ; ततश्च प्रियसुहन्मरणात्पूर्वमेव मर्त्यप्रियति निदिवत्य मत्तिय-वयस्यो विष्णुदासः नगरान्निष्कान्त' इति । इत्थं च पुरुषेण विद्धापितो राक्षसः पुरुष प्रति 'मास्तु ते भयम् ; विष्णु-दासं अग्निपवेशान्निवारय ; अहमपि चन्दनदासं मृत्युभयान् मोचयामि' इति अबोचत् । पुरुषेणापि संशयेन 'के भवन्त' इति पृष्ठे राक्षसः पुरुषाय स्वं नाम प्रत्यपादयत् । पुरुषश्च राक्षसं प्रति वभाण—'पूर्वं शकटदासो नाम कर्मिवत् चन्द्रगुप्तादेशाद् वध्यस्थानं नीतिः, स च केनापि देशान्तर प्रापितः ; ततश्च चन्द्रगुप्तेन स्वाङ्गोऽल्घनमसहमानेन वध्यस्थानाधिकृताः सर्वे ऽपि धारिताः ; तत् प्रभृति घातकजनाः सर्वे ऽपि अप्रमत्ता, सन्तः स्वकार्यं पश्यन्ति ; तस्माच्छ्रुते भवद्विग्यन्तव्यम्' इति । राक्षसोऽपि एतादशो पुरुषवचन निश्चास्य चाणक्यबुद्धिकौशल्ये विस्तयमा-वहन् इत्थमचिन्तयत्—

'नार्यं निर्भिशकालः प्रथममिह कुते घातकाना विनाशे नीतिः कालान्तरेण प्रकटयति फलं किं तया कार्यमन्त्र । औदासीन्यं न युक्तं प्रियसुहृदि गते मत्कृतामेव घोरां व्यापार्चि शातमसिन्, स्वतन्त्रुपद्धिमा निष्कियां कल्पयामि ॥'

तस्माद्विरेण चन्द्रनदाससमीपे गन्तव्यमिति निदिवत्य यत्र
 “चाणक्यप्रेपितौ त्रिसिद्धार्थकसमृद्धार्थकौ चण्डालवेषधारिणौ
 भूचा चन्द्रनदास चार्यं नीतवन्त्तौ, तं देशमाजगाम । तत्र च
 यहुधा हाहेति रुदतः स्वपुत्रकलवादेः समाधानं कुर्वन्तं चण्डा-
 लाभ्यां च निर्भर्त्येमानं सुहृदर्थं तुणवत्प्राणान्मोक्तुं व्यवासित-
 वन्तं स्वप्रियमुहृदं चन्द्रनदासं हृष्वा राक्षसः ससम्भ्रमस्तन् घात-
 कजनान् प्रत्याह्व—‘त खलु भगव्वि चन्द्रनदासो व्यापाद्यितव्यः ।

येन स्वामिकुलं रिपोरिव कुल दण्डं विनश्यत्पुरा
 मिकाणा व्यसने महोत्सव इव स्वस्येन येत स्थितम् ।
 आत्मा यस्य वधाय च परिभवक्षेत्रीकृतोऽपि प्रियः
 तस्येवं मम मृत्युलोकपदधी वध्यस्तगावध्यताम् ॥’ इति ।

तच्छ्रुत्वा चन्द्रनदासः सवाप्पगद्रदस्तन् राक्षसं प्रति ‘अमात्य !
 किमेतदाचर्यते’ इत्यउद्वृत्त । राक्षसः ‘त्वदीयचरितैकदेशानुवर्तनं
 खादिवदम्’ इत्युक्त्वा चन्द्रनदासे च यहुः समाधाय चण्डालं
 प्रति पूर्णोक्तं चाणक्याय निवेदयेति अवादीत् । तथोक्तचण्डा-
 लयोः एकः सपुत्रदारेण चन्द्रनदासेन संद इमशानपादपमूले उपा-
 विशाव् । अपरस्तु राक्षसेन सद्व चाणक्यगृहं गत्या ‘एष गृहीतो
 राक्षस’ इति दोवारिकमुखेन चाणक्यं न्यवेदयत् । तच्छ्रुत्वा
 चाणक्यः विस्मयानन्दाभ्या परश्चशो भूत्या राक्षसं च अपश्यत् ।
 राक्षसोऽपि चाणक्ये हृष्वा इत्थममन्यत—‘अयं दुरात्मा चाण-
 क्य, अयं दुरात्मा चाणक्यः ।

आकर सर्वशाखाणां रक्षानामिव सागरः ।
गुणैर्न परितुष्यामो यस्य मत्सरिणो वयम् ॥' इति ।

चाणक्योऽपि राक्षसमालोक्य सवहुमानं प्रणनाम । राक्षसश्च न
मा चण्डालस्पर्शदूषितं स्प्रप्तुमर्हसीत्यवोचत् । चाणक्यस्तच्छु
त्वा स्वकृतसंविधानं सर्वमपि राक्षसप्रत्यायनाग्र यजिष्ठपत् ।
यथा 'अमात्यराक्षस ! नेमौ चण्डालौ, किंतु एकः सिद्धार्थको
भवता दण्डपूर्व ; योऽप्यन्यः स्तोऽपि राजलोकसेवी समृद्धार्थकः ।
शकटदासोऽपि स्वय किमपि न जानाति, मया तु कपटवेष
लेखितः, अय चाच्र सग्रहः—

भृत्या भद्रमटादयः स च तथा लेख समृद्धार्थक
स्तश्चालद्वृतणव्रय च भवतो मिल भद्रतः किल ।
जीर्णोद्यानगतः स एष पुरुष क्लेश स च थेष्टिनः
सर्व मे वृपलस्य धीर भवता सयोगमिच्छोर्नेय ॥

तदयं वृपलस्त्वा द्रष्टुमिच्छति' इति । राक्षसश्च तदाकर्ण्य शकट-
वासं प्रति छिन्नसंशयस्त्वं च चन्द्रगुप्तदर्शनम् असम्मतवा गपि
निर्वधशादभ्युपजगाम । ततश्च शातवृत्तान्तः च चन्द्रगुप्तोऽपि
तुष्टमानसः चाणक्यनीतिनैपुण्ये भृशमादचर्यमुद्वडन् सपरिवार
आगत्य चाणक्यं प्राणसीति । ततश्चाणक्येन पैतृकोऽप्यम् अमात्यो
राक्षसः, एतमभिवादयेति निवेदितश्चन्द्रगुप्तः राक्षस प्रणि-
पात । कुताशीर्षचन्द्रच राक्षस इत्थमचित्यत्—

‘द्रव्यं जिगीपुमाधिगम्य जडात्मनोऽपि
नेतुर्यश्चाखिनि पदे नियतं प्रतिष्ठा ।
अद्रव्यमेत्य भुवि शुद्धनयोऽपि मन्त्री
जीणाथयः पतति तीरजवृक्षरीत्या ॥’ इति ।

तदा चाणक्यः राक्षसमाह—‘किं चन्दनदासस्य जीवितं भवता
इप्यते’ इति । राक्षस आह—‘कः सन्देहः ? लवश्यम् इप्यते
चन्दनदासजीवितम्; तदर्थमेवाहमागतः ।’ चाणक्य आह—‘यदि
चन्दनदासेन जीवितव्यम् तर्हि साचिव्यचिह्नं शखं गृह्णताम्; पदि
न गृह्णते तर्हि सूतश्चन्दनदासः’ इति । इत्थं चाणक्योकं निशम्य
राक्षसः सोपकारिचन्दनदासकोदपरवशः कथित्वच्छ्रुतमप्रदीप ।
साधितकार्यं चाणक्यः नितान्तं तु वोप । चन्द्रगुसदच सं कुतार्थ-
ममन्यत । ततश्च भद्रमटभागुरायणप्रभृतिमिः संयमितकर-
चरणः मलयकेतुः द्वारभूमिं नीत इति कदिचत् पुरुषं आगत्य
चाणक्यं निषेदयति, चाणक्यः पुरुषं प्रत्याह—‘नाहमिदानी-
ममात्यः, किन्तु राक्षसोऽमात्यः, तस्मै विश्वापय’ इति,
ततश्च पुरुषेण विश्वापितो राक्षसः चन्द्रगुसं निषेदयामास—
‘राजन् चन्द्रगुस । कदिचत्काळं यदं मलयकेतुरुक्तके उपित-
यन्तः; अतो मदये भवता मलयकेतुः संरक्षयः’ इति । इत्थं
मुक्तश्चन्द्रगुसः चाणक्यमुख्यमद्राक्षीत् । चाणक्योऽपि राक्षस-
सन्तोषाय पुरुषं प्रत्यभाणीत्—‘अमास्यराक्षसेन विश्वापितो राजा
मलयकेतवे पितृं राधूं प्रदिशति, तद्वच्छतु मलयकेतुः सर्वं

विषयम् । भद्रभट्टप्रसुज्ञाश्च मलयकेतुना गत्वा तेऽप्रतिष्ठाप्य
रास्ये पुनरागच्छन्तु' इति । तथेति गच्छन्तं पुरुषे चाणक्यः
पुनरपि समादिशत्—'राक्षसाप्रियत(पा) चन्द्रगुप्तः समाधापयति
'य एष थेष्टी चन्दनदासः स पृथिव्यां सर्वतगरेषु थेष्टिपदमारो
प्यताम्' इति विजय दुर्गपाल भण' । तथेति निष्कान्तं पुरुष
पुनरपि चाणक्य आह—

'विना वाहनहस्तिष्यो मुच्यतां सर्वदन्धनम् ।
तीर्णप्रतिष्ठेन मया वध्यते केशमन्त्य ॥' इति ।

इत्थमाध्यापिता भद्रभट्टप्रभृतय । मलयकेतुना सद निरक्षामन् ।
चन्दनदासैव थेष्टिपदमारोपित । चाणक्यैव पूर्वमुपका
रिणा सर्वपामणि यथायोग्यं राजा सम्मानयित्वा तपश्चरित्
वधाय प्रतस्थे । राक्षसोऽपि स्वकलङ्घपुत्रादिभि समेत । वाचि
व्यधुरमुददन् राज्ञ उत्तरोत्तर हितमन्विष्यन् सुखमास्त । राजा
चन्द्रगुप्तोऽपि सार्वभौमस्तन् चतुर्स्सागरोमेषलां वसुन्धराम्
अपालयदिनि सर्वं शिवम् ।

श्रीमहादत्सकुलाभ्युराशिशिभि जीवेन तुल्यैर्ध्या
काव्यालङ्कृतिरन्त्यपट्टकचतुरै रूपौते क्षमामण्डले ।
नीतेवोद्यिर्गा क्षमासुरमहादेवाख्यतीर्थः कृतो
मुद्राराक्षसनाटकोदितकथाभागोऽगमत् पूरणम् ॥
(इति श्रीमहादेवरुता मुद्राराक्षसनाटककथा
सम्पूर्ण ।)

NOTES.

(Textual, Traditional and Historical).

P. 1. Pāṭalipura; also called Pāṭaliputra, Puṣpapura and Kusumapura; modern Patna. Pāṭali is a flower and hence the names Puṣpa or Kusuma pura. According to the Vāyupurāṇa, 99. 319, and the Jain work, Pariśiṣṭaparvan, of Hemacandra, 6. 180, the city was founded by Udayin or Udāyin, son of Darśaka or Kūṇika (Pariśiṣṭaparvan), king of Magadha. The Vāyupurāṇa says that Udayin founded Kusumapura in the fourth year of his reign, on the southern bank of the Ganges. The Pariśiṣṭaparvan says that the city was called Pāṭalipura after a Pāṭali tree on the Ganges which was taken as providing the most auspicious site for the new city. For the Br̥hatkathā story of the foundation of the city, as recorded in the Kathāsaritsāgara, I. iii., and the Br̥hatkathāmañjari, pp 10-12, see the Introduction to this book

गृहः—‘गृहः पुसि तु भून्नेव’—Amara; Gṛha, always neuter, appears in masculine also but only in plural then.

पताङ्गदल्लदत्तमुन्नतः etc. That the mansions of Pāṭaliputra were renowned is known from Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya, 1V. 3.66 : पटलिपुवस्तुः श्रान्तादा, पटलिपुवस्तु श्रान्ता इति । The following is the description of this opulent city by Arrian in Ch. X of his *Indica* :

“The largest city in Inda named Palimbothra (Pāṭaliputra) is in the land of the Prasians

(Prācyas-Easterners), where is the confluence of the river Erannaboas (Hīranyavīhā ; i.e., the Son) and the Ganges. Megasthenes says that on one side where it is longest this city extends 80 stades (9½ miles) in length and that its breadth is 15 (1½ miles), that the city has been surrounded with a ditch in breadth 6 plethra (606 feet) and in depth 30 cubits, and that its wall has 570 towers and 64 gates. It is these multi-towered walls (Prākāras) of Pātaliputra that Patañjali refers to. Archers were mounted on these walls, there were also holes in the wall through which archers discharged arrows. The excavations at the site of Pātaliputra have shown portions of a wood made wall, at a depth of ten to fifteen feet below the surface.

मन्दिर श्रीगन्त —The wealth of the Nanda kingdom was proverbial in those days and reports of it reached Alexander. Tradition also speaks of the last Nanda as being called Dhana Nanda owing to his great craze for accumulating wealth. In the Mudrārāksa-nātaka III 27, the Nandas are referred to as lords of 990 crores of gold. The Kathāsaritsāgara (I iv) and the Brhatkathāmañjarī (p 16) put the figure at 99 crores. According to the Buddhist work, Mahāvamsatikā, Dhana Nanda levied taxes even on skins, gums, trees and stones and amassed 80 crores. Māmū lanār, the Tamil Sangam poet refers to the untold wealth of the Nandas which was hidden underground near the Ganges and which was eventually swept away by the floods of the Ganges. According to the Brhatkathāmañjarī (p 10) and

four main quarters On the extent of the Nanda Kingdom, see below at the end सूतपुत्री—The Sūta is a mixed caste, devoted to the profession of charioteers and minstrels

P 2 शूद्राया =सूतपुत्रा मुराया Sūdrā here refers to the second wife Murā daughter of a Sūta whose subcaste is brought under the Sūdra^a

बलवृक्षलक्ष्म—like a bottle-gourd (कर्कशकाम) मायकारा —a mass of flesh द्रोति—ve sel दुर्योधनद्वय etc For the story of the similar birth of Duryodhana and the other 99 sons of Dhritarāstra see Mahā-bhārata Adiparvan, ch 129 Šlokas 31—35, Kumbakonam edition इतिहास —epic, the Ramāyana and the Mahābhārata are Itihāsas

P 3 प्रतिभान्वित—Pratibhā is imagination or genius गतिपु—in the principles of polity नितुल्या —equal to their father in intelligence दण्डनीती. Danda is one of the four divisions of Niti or royal polity, viz Sāman winning over by conciliation or peaceful settlement Dāna winning over or placating by gifts Bheda, success^a through the creation of splits among the enemies and Danda or actual war

न या—मुराया काम पुमन् मर्य लेन Historians dispute this derivation of the word Maurya from a mother Murā, and point out that grammatically Murā's son would be Maureva and not Maurya Other available evidences also do not point to one opinion on this question of Candragupta's descent and relation to Nanda Classical writers speak of Nanda

there was a literary court at Ujjain, there was a court of Śāstraic learning at Pātaliputra where Śāstrakāras were examined

थूयते च पाटलिपुत्रे शास्त्रस्त्राणरीक्षा—
अत्रोपवर्पवर्पाविह पाणिनिपिगलाविह व्याडि ।

वररुचिपतञ्जली इदं परीक्षिता ख्यातिमुपजग्मु ॥

The Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa of the Buddhists mentions Pāṇini as a friend of the last Nanda, and the Buddhistic work, Mahāvamīśa Tīkā says that it was to have a learned disputation that Cānakya, after graduating at Taxila came to Pātaliputra and was insulted by the Nanda. In our version of the story too we find that every day the Nandas feasted Brāhmaṇas and showed special honours to one among them who was a master of all the Śāstras. The Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa also records rather regrettfully that Brahminical learning flourished greatly under Nanda and Candragupta. Vātsyāyana informs us (Kāmasūtra I 1 ii) that Dattaka the great authority in the subject of Kāmaśāstra wrote a special treatise on the subject in relation to the courtesans (Vaiśika) at the request of the courtesans of Pātaliputra रमिका—Men of taste तृणनीव—As if riches were no more than blades of grass असरस—Heavenly courtesans like Menakā and Rambhā रम्बुपाणात् etc. By this, the Pātivratyā or chastity of the women of that city is emphasised पद्मतुमु—In the six seasons Vasanta (Spring) Grīṣma (Summer), Varsā (Rains), Sarat (Autumn), Hemanta and Siśira (Winter or cold season) चतुर्स्तम्बु इति etc. The four oceans are those of the

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काय—मुराया अर्थात् तुमान् मर्य तेन Historians dispute this derivation of the word Maurya from a mother Murā, and point out that grammatically Murā's son would be Maureya and not Maurya Other available evidences also do not point to one opinion on this question of Candragupta's descent and relation to Nanda Classical writers speak of Nanda

as of humble origin and attribute to Nanda a very base parentage; the Jain versions also speak of Nanda as base-born and Candragupta is born in a family of caretakers of peacocks (Mayūrapoṣaka); the Buddhistic versions assign Candragupta to a Kṣatriya tribe called Moriyas related to the Sākyas and living originally near Nepal; the Kathāsaritsāgara calls Nanda a Śūdra and mentions Candragupta as his direct and only son; the Purāṇas seem to refer to the Nandas alone as Śūdras; Buddhistic works refer to Candragupta's son and grandson as Kṣatriyas; the Drama Mudrārākṣasa supports the version that Candragupta was a Kulahina as against the Nandas (II. 7), and that he was a grandson (son of Maurya) of the Nanda King (II. 6. 8). Some historians try to seek the support of the Drama for their view that Candragupta was of Gāndhāra origin and that he was not at all related to the Nandas; but the Drama is, more than once, expressly clear on Candragupta being a relation of the Nandas.

नव नन्दा.—The nine sons of Sarvārthaśiddhi by his first Kṣatriya wife Sunandā were known as Nandas. Some historians have contended that there were not nine of them and that the expression 'Nava Nandas' means the New Nandas; the Drama explicitly uses the word 'Nava' in a numerical sense.

शास्त्राद्युत्रस्य मम राज्यम् etc The non-kṣatriya issues of a king were not qualified to succeed to the throne. पुष्पपुरम्—the capital Pāṭalipura. राज्यचिह्नद्रम्—vulnerability of the state. युटिकायाते—by the casting

of lots; *guṭikās* are small spherical pieces; the drawing of lots is also referred to as *Salākāgrahaṇa*, *Salākā* being a rectangular piece of material used in the game of dice. The Buddhistic works have reference to settling of doubtful points by *Salākāgrahaṇa*. The *Dāyabhāga* of Jimūtavāhana refers to the drawing of lots in the partition of property: “*युद्धिक प्रतिदिवा व्यज्ञन ए दातुभाग ।*”

P 4 एवं ननानायक etc It was with difficulty that Rāksasa maintained the unity of authority in a kingdom headed by nine kings In the Drama, Cānakya refers to the absence of unity when the Nandas ruled, despite the able ministers Vakra-nāsa and others, and speaks of his own achievement by which he unified the authority Mudrā-rāksasa I. 23. विकान्दनेत्वरालिमिः सुरचिद् । ।. वक्तार्णदीमि:, नन्दे जीवति या तदा न गमिता स्थैर्यं चलना मुहुः । तमेवल्लमुग्यतान् etc.

नन्दार्य नेनापतित्वं ददौ. The Nanda army was a formidable one. It was reported to Alexander that Xandrames (Nanda) had an army of 20,000 horse, 2,00,000 infantry, 2,000 chariot^o and 4,000 elephants ; Porus confirmed the report

शाल्यम्—internal trouble; Śalya is the broken end of some missile which remains within the body and gives great pain वालोचनशाल—counsel chamber. राक्षसादिनिरमात्रे—Besides Rāksasa, there were other ministers too; one of them was known as Vakranāsa; see Mudrārāksasa I 23. The legends speak of a minister named Śakatāra prominently; but he is conspicuous by his absence in the Drama. Similarly Rāksasa, so prominent according to the

Drama is not to be seen in the old Brāhmaṇical Buddhistic and Jain versions

*वस्य शासनम्—God's mandate प्रलयपक्षार—revenge

चाद्रयुन —the last of the hundred sons of Maurya
 नवन नवपुत्रै—with the ninety nine sons अनुयुन— Having
 blessed यत्प्राप्तिप्राप्त दिन —Despite the absence of food
 from the next day and consequent starvation
 their life lingered for a few days गत means यत्,
 passed away

In most of the legends this fate of being assigned to an empty well with hundred sons the daily supply of food for only one the sons agreeing to one person taking the food to live and wreak vengeance is mentioned as befalling a Nanda minister named Sakatala

पवरम्—cage कविदू मृदामल्य In Rav Nartaka's version he is called Viśilha See Canakyakathā Sloka 88 इदाना तवा etc This sentence in the original manuscript did not have the word गतचिन्तया but such a word is presupposed by the word तवा in the manuscript and the passage in the Canakyakathā which runs close to this text here

न हि मौर्यसुतश्चन्द्रगुप्त शिल्पकलानिधि ।

अमेचयिष्यत् प चास्य कि तया गतचिन्तया । ६। ८९
supplied the word गतचिन्तया

P 6 राजन् —the Nine Nandas महात्मितुराविकारम्—
 नैनदत्तम् The office which your father was holding, namely the command of the army निर्बन्धादिव - as if under pressure तुम् —made of wax वन्धकृत च अन्म् — the movement of the wax-lion was through a mechanical arrangement इनिमाणी—artificial क्य सालाजामि —with iron rod वद्रक्षत्—made it melt The man who came with a cage and lion appeared to challenge some one to drive the lion out of the cage without breaking open the cage पारमनिर्वाचनं स्थित सिंह विनिवाचयतु The word विनिवाचयतु means both 'let him drive out and 'let him melt it', and Candragupta who found out that the lion was wax made understood also the pun in this word विनिवाचयतु

In Anantabhatta's version, enemy kings send a small rod and ask Nanda to find its base and top, a Brahman who later becomes minister Rāksasa, finds the base and top by putting the rod in water

भोजनामागविकारम्—charge of the dining hall where everyday the Nandas feasted the Brahmanas तद् कर्त्तव्यम्—He was looking after that work

दर्भारुर् —A sprout of Darbha grass तद्दर्भ + + पर्य In one version he pours buttermilk at the root, sweet gruel is poured at the roots for ants to gather and destroy the roots according to another

P 7 अङ्गम्—ten thousand ग्रन्थ —Sudra उम्भा Hunger ग्रन्थ इति त्वया वदुर्म् etc When Cānakya requested to be excused for addressing the prince

Candragupta as Vrsala *i.e.* Sūdra Candragupta replied that the address Vrsala was itself a blessing. This reply of Candragupta becomes more significant when we note that there may be a pun on the word Vrsala which according to some foreign language like the Greek then understood in those parts of North India means also the royal title Basileus. Some historians have tried to prove this वर्जनुप्रसक्षया—leading from one connected topic to another भद्राद्यमाः पदिनीकरण्यम्—my residence too must be made holy by your visit

P 8 तस्मिन् विद्वामन—In that seat intended for a Brahman scholar versed in all the lores अपात्मतु—beardless too young अप्राप्ते—first seat अहृष्टतु—haughty चन्मसदि—In that assemblage of people आसनादार्थीयामासु Cf Drama I 12 गोचतोऽदनतन्तराधिकामगादधिकशादाभ मुच्च मामपासनतोऽक्षमवश य दृष्टवत् पुरा ॥ IV 11 स्वागासनापनयनानिकृतिर्न सोढा ।

पात्रा नियमामि Cf Drama I नत प्राशनि मुच्च शिला परन्तु गणक्य ॥ I 9 VII 17 प्रयननात्—swore सतीर्थम्—classmate

पर्वतान्—king of a bordering non Indian people. Some scholars try to identify this Parvata keśvarī with the famous Porus who fought Alexander this is not likely for Porus though he lived at the time Candragupta was in the North West was soon treacherously murdered by a Greek Satrap Eudemos a circumstance which might have helped the growth of antipathy towards the Greek among the people and facilitated later Candragupta's conquest of the

N W The Buddhistic work *Mahāvamśa Tīkā* calls this ally of Cānakya, Pabbato

P 9 नन्दराजमर्मद्—one who knows the secrets of the Nanda kingdom सरूप—making him his ally उनमन्त्रहम्—mobilisation of the forces अराजरम्यधारी—putting on the guise of a Jain monk. नन्दिशस्ते— in polity, ज्ञानेशमन्ते— in astrology, भन्दगात्ते— in incantations गाधितन्त्रवन्—as a protege असिचरादित्तम्—black-magic etc भास्यनि लभिन् माते in this forthcoming month. इत्यम्—an evil Spirit भगुरगिन्धिन— a bunch of peacock feathers which some Jain monks and some magicians carry

P 10 गूडचरसुज्जेन—through secret spies इत्यादि दिग्गुता—the disposition of the planets is perverse and malefic भग्नन्—soldiers चाचकपेतवा—by Cānakya's (conscious and planned) negligence इत्यादि—unhurt दिग्गुता—died

According to the *Milindapanho* of the Buddhists this battle between the Nandas and Candragupta-Kautilya was of the bloodiest kind. The Nanda forces were commanded by one Bhaddaśāla 100 crores of footmen, 10,000 elephants, 1 lakh horses and 5,000 chariots perished in this battle. According to the Drama, (IV 12) and the *Kathāsarit-sāgara*, Cānakya used black magic against the Nandas and killed them the battle was waged after that इत्यगता—died लस्नाक पितृव्यविपादकम्

Cf *Mudrārāksasa* V 20 पुत्रेभ्य इतवादना कृषिरा येषा न भिना क्यम्।

P 11 चतुर्योगादन—by the fourth expedient namely war—नतृननुयामि नात्तदेविस्तमात्—Cf. the

Drama V 24 एवं भर्तृननुयामि नीवति रिप्ता छीणामिय योग्यता ।
 कुरुत्यम्यम्—ancestor, the oldest member of the family
 भनुपिण्डानुप्यम्—freeing oneself of the obligations one
 owes to the master whose salt one had eaten
 पवतक्ष्वरराक्षसयोथ विशेष्य मत्वा सज्जाता On the friendship
 between Rāksasa and Parvatakeśvara Cf Drama
 V 7 मित्र ममदमिति निर्वृतचित्तवृत्ति विवभतस्त्वयि निवगितसप्तर्थम् ।
 तत निगल्य etc ॥ गश्य बुद्ध्वा निवित्य—knowing the inten-
 tion and coming to a decision, बुद्ध्वा in the manu-
 script may be उद्धा determining with his intellect
 what the intention of Rāksasa is शावित्वा—after
 examining and clearing the city of all those
 dangers Sodhana is technically used in the
 science of polity to mean the clearing away of
 enemies and other dangers, compare the phrase
 रक्षवशोधनम् उप्राप्ता—by some ruse

P 12 राज्यवृत्तान्त चारमुनेन शोधयन्—scouting and
 scrutinising the activities of Rāksasa through his
 spies पितॄन्यका—a female spirit or a female of a
 poisonous nature whose contact kills people

P 18 'निष्ठ+ प्रकुर्द्दिंगो रक्षयामाग यानरम्' is a proverb
 meaning 'Beginning to do a desired thing and
 ending by doing quite an undesirable thing,' as
 for instance starting on the production of the deity
 Ganeśa and in the end, producing actually a
 monkey. Here in the story, Rāksasa planned to
 kill Candragupta his enemy but it turned out that
 thereby his friend Parvatakeśvara died प्रमत्तम्—
 dead ज्ञाया द्व Cāṇakya pretended to be dejected,
 for it was he who actually planned the death of
 Parvatakeśvara at the hands of the Viśakanyaka

P. 14. 'भास्तिरुद्दिष्ट लशुने न शान्तो व्याधिः' is a proverb meaning that even after resorting to an antidote of a reproachful nature, the malady has not been put down. Laśuna is garlic which religiously minded people do not take; one takes it at the suggestion of a doctor as the remedy for some ailment, but to his regret he finds the ailment uncured, the only outcome being his transgression of the prohibition of eating garlic. Here, in the context, Parvatakeśvara the ally and friend was killed by Cānakya by turning Rāksasa's Visakan-yakā against him; the purpose was the elimination of one who would claim half of the kingdom according to the promise; now the sin of having killed a friend has been committed, but the expected release from the obligation to part with half the kingdom did not come, for Parvatakeśvara's son and brother, Malayaketu and Vairodhaka were there to claim the share. ग्रंथिशुतम्—promised.

नगुरायण—Bhāgurāyana is one of the important persons who joined Candragupta in his conflict with the Nandas and became prominent with Candragupta's success (Pradhānapurusa and Sahot-thāyin); he was the younger brother of the commander Simhabala: सेनाने चिह्नवलस्य कर्मायान् आता भागुरायाः Mudrārākṣasa, Act III, p 172. शृतव्यः—one ungrateful विद्यम्—confidence. 'जीवन् भद्राणि पस्तनि' is a saying, meaning that if instead of courting death or risking life, one in adversity manages to hold to life, times may change and many good things may happen to him लक्षणम्—the

Mleccha kingdom in the North West वैरनिर्गतनोदय —
way of wreaking vengeance

P 15 प्रत्यधीषात्—promised अनिद्रा—one who
knows पञ्चराज्य—the five kings under Malayaketu's
control except probably the Malaya all the other
four countries are in the West and North West,
Kuluta was in the valley of the Beas, Kaśmīra
Sindhu and Pārśika are well known The North
West of India was at that time full of republics
According to the evidence of the Greek writers
Candragupta had offended the Nanda King and
was taking refuge in the North West, he met
Alexander he collected a band of fighters from
among the people of the North West and attacked
Pataliputra The Buddhist version tells us that
Cānakya was a student of Taxila in the North
West in the first attack on Pataliputra Cānakya
and Candragupta failed and the Jain and the
Buddhist versions say that Cānakya and Candra
gupta learnt a lesson from an old woman that the
surrounding country must first be captured before
one could take the capital and that they did like
wise व्यप्त्यहस्यव्यादकम्—the territory, elephant, horses
etc प्रात्मादृष्टम्—enthusing encouragement शिरिन
मूरधाराथ—artists, architects and carpenters दृष्टि—
by the astrologers वरेष्टनम्—must be decorated

परतेरदिरचिन्—worked with designs of rows of pure pearls दिन्दितरट—cloth of variegated colour. रसिन्—gem—set अपदारण—upper garment. दंडक—two garlands thrown rightwise and leftwise across the shoulders, producing a cross design on the chest. दशानी—she who bears. दशा—a female elephant. राजदोरन—by the royal retinue सज्जीकृतम्—adjusted, made ready धन्तोरणम्—arch manipulated by a mechanical arrangement. निरुहीतवाहेतु with their horses held up निपारी—Mahout on the elephant

P. 17. कलसद्विष्टकान्तिहितम्—hidden within the golden staff. असिपुत्रिम्—slender sword. रुद्धला—chain. मेदला—belt जपनामिधातम्—a blow on the hind parts. गतिमेदम्—a different gait. प्रथमगतानुरोधप्रसाक्षितमुकेन—adjusted and released to suit the original gait of the elephant प्रब्रह्मस्थम्—out of the target-range दन्त-पट्टनलोहदीर्घम्—the iron rod fastening the machine-arch. मैक—अनेक धनुमारम्—even as an animal would be beat to death. दण्यी—friend दन्तभाजने दर्णान्तरम् etc. The medicine being poisonous produced a chemical reaction in the golden vessel. पायितः—made to drink अनिष्टम्—given.

P. 18 शक्तमेदन्—conflicting statements or changing the explanations निचितपेन—by torture. मुला—an underground passage पुष्टपर्मम्—having men hidden inside.

आसुद्धान्—reliable friends प्रणिधीन्—spies अभियोगं प्रनि—in the matter of attacking.

P. 19 पारलीक्रिकम्—obsequial rites intended for welfare in the other world. महाहाणि—highly valuable वृक्षम्—camp. महाधृष्णि—highly valuable नदं नगदे—in his treasury

Mleccha kingdom in the North West वैरनिर्वाननोपादः—ways of wreaking vengeance

P. 15 प्रस्त्रीपीत्—promised अभिगृः—one who knows पञ्च राज्यनः—the five kings under Malayaketu's control ; except probably the Malaya, all the other four countries are in the West and North West ; Kulūta was in the valley of the Beas ; Kāśmīra, Sindhu and Pārasika are well-known. The North West of India was at that time full of republics. According to the evidence of the Greek writers, Candragupta had offended the Nanda King and was taking refuge in the North West ; he met Alexander; he collected a band of fighters from among the people of the North West and attacked Pāṭaliputra. The Buddhistic version tells us that Cāṇakya was a student of Taxila in the North West ; in the first attack on Pāṭaliputra, Cāṇakya and Candragupta failed and the Jain and the Buddhistic versions say that Cāṇakya and Candragupta learnt a lesson from an old woman that the surrounding country must first be captured before one could take the capital, and that they did likewise विषयदृस्यव्यादिकम्—the territory, elephants, horses etc प्रोत्सवनम्—enthusing, encouragement सिद्धिनः दूतयाराध—artists, architects and carpenters दृष्टौः—by the astrologers. परिरक्षन्व्यः—must be decorated.

परेन्द्रिनित—worked with designs of rows of pure pearls विचक्षण—cloth of variegated colour विद्युत—gem—set वप्तव्य—upper garment द्विद्वारा—two garlands thrown rightwise and leftwise across the shoulders producing a cross design on the chest द्वारा—she who bears दशा—a female elephant दाढ़—by the royal retinue सर्वांगिनम्—adjusted, made ready वन्त्रतरणम्—arch manipulated by a mechanical arrangement नियुक्तवाह्यु with their horses held up नियायी—Mahout on the elephant

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यमपत्रम्—The Yamapata is a scroll containing paintings of pictures of the horrors of hell to be undergone for the respective sins. In ancient India a class of mendicants and beggars went about the streets and houses exhibiting this scroll and singing songs exhorting people to avoid such sins and practice Dharma. मणिकारथेष्टो—the chief of the jeweller community धर्मगीतानि—songs exhorting people to observe Dharma पश्चर्ददय—about five years old अपवरकन्—from an inner apartment

P 20. तुमारसरोध—*in the act of restraining the boy* मुह्याद्वृगुलिप्रमाणवटिता—*made to the size of a man's finger* मुद्रिका—*ring* This is the ring of Rāksasa with which he is finally captured and which thus gives the title to the play *Mudrārāksasa न्यासोदय*—*having placed in trust रिवित् पत्रम्—some letter* For the contents of this letter and the part it plays see pp 30-3 of the text दृतवाण्यनामानम्—without the address

P 21 दक्षिणाक्षिसमेचसुशम्—*a hint by the winking of the right eye सरेत—secret understanding एव कन्धर्पे कन्धयमाय—For this and the part Siddhārthaka play, see pp 30-4 of the text नान्दा म्—denial दुर्णाम्—The person in charge of the fort, and probably of prison also, his proper name is Vijaya, see below p 40*

P 22 गृहीन्यद्वारम्—*with the valuables in his house confiscated*

office of Mahāpratihāra ; वल्लुस् is a Mahārāja by title and a kinsman of Candragupta ; राजसेन is a companion of Candragupta since his boyhood ; रोहिताश् is the son of the Mälwa king ; विजयवर्मन् is the chief of a military group, Kṣatragana ; all these are leaders and partisans of Candragupta who rose to power with him See Drama p. 172, Act III.

आहृराणि—I shall round up. आहितुण्टिकः—A snake-charmer.

P. 23. भाण्डागारे—in the treasury. उत्कण्ठाविनोदार्थम्—to console herself in her longing.

P. 24. खस्य बनन्तराविकारे—in an authority next to himself. चाणक्वापरागेण—as a result of antipathy towards Cāṇakya. त्वया अभिनेतव्यम्—You must act as if you transgress my command.

P. 25. कौमुदीमहोत्सवः—The festival of moonlight celebrated during the fullmoon night of the Karttika month in Sarat or autumn. This may be the festival called Kaumudijāgara mentioned in the Kāmasūtras of Vātsyāyana I. 4·42 and which the commentary Jayamaṅgalā says fell on the fullmoon day in the Āśvayuk month in Sarat. People give themselves up to gaiety with song dance, etc. on the occasion. अव्यशास्त्रकाराः—authors of works on the science of polity. सिद्धिम्—success. राजायत्तम्—dependent on the king. सचिवायत्तसिद्धिः—one whose success is dependent on his minister. वृतालिकः—bard. उपलोक्तिवान्—sung a verse of praise. प्रयोगः—manouvre. अर्थोत्तरीः—gift of money. निष्ठद्वैष्यप्रसरस्य— one the progress of whose activity is obstructed.

सम्भूतानाम्—for those who do not exert themselves

P 26 राक्षसोपदेशक्षण—intent upon doing according to Rāksasa's advice व्यामदा—time for military exercise दुस्त्वार—improvements to the fortifications स्वयं हस्तो दत्त स्थात्—we would ourselves have accepted the guilt

P 27 खानिनि—in his masters, the Nandas प्रशापुरपक्षाराम्भाम्—with intellectual capacity and capacity for manly action खोशदान्—having money कन्त क्षेत्रम्—internal revolution न दुर्भय—not difficult to tackle प्रशस्तर—more praiseworthy. दक्षरप—
the remaining and unexpressed part of the sentence अविमत्थना—unboastful

P 28 इसम्—haughty स्यत्—imprisoned सद्धात्—may come to peace

P 29 भागधगाधार्यदनादीन् The army comprised Mīgadhas, Gāndharas and Yāvanas besides Khaśas Sakas Cinas and Hūnas Cf Drama V 11 p 245 सेनामुखम्—forefront of the army व्याप्ति—arrangement लव्यमित—banished

P 30 रक्षणाया रात्रुक्षम प्राण—The very purpose of the intrigues is to secure Rāksasa for service under Candragupta, and hence Bhāgurāyana is careful that Rāksasa's life is not endangered during the progress of the intrigues शुभस्थानधिकृत—in charge of a division of the army occupying a post or position दर्दीरदन्—owing to the importance of the business रोडपि refers to Rāksasa दग्धि पुरुषम् refers to Candragupta वस्त्रतिपथ् refers to Cānakya उपन्त्तगर्भानम्—with whom we had entered into an understanding

P. 31. सूर्योग्रतिष्ठित—what had been already promised to them; the things promised are set forth below, viz treasury, elephants and territory. स्वाध्य—refers to Malayaketu अलङ्कार-कल्प् refers to the ornaments of Parvatakesvara which Candragupta presented to the three Brahmins, Viśvāvasu etc, and which the latter managed to sell to Rāksasa : see p 19 of the text above. वशन्त्यार्थं त्रिवित्—something as compliment to the letter; refers to the ornaments which Malayaketu had given as presents to Rāksasa, which Rāksasa gave as presents to Siddhārthaka for delivering Śakaṭadāsa from the executioners, and which Siddhārthaka sealed with Rāksasa's ring and kept in safe custody in Rāksasa's own treasury, so that he might use them when necessary. Siddhārthaka uses them now against Rāksasa एविम्बु-oral message ; for this, see below. This is the letter which Cāṇakya planned and wrote, got copied in the hand of Śakaṭadāsa the friend of Rāksasa, sealed with Rāksasa's ring and gave to Siddhārthaka with a secret direction for using it at the proper time against Rāksasa ; see pp 20-1 of the text above षट्का—box अपाप्—security from danger. परार्थीनस्य—a dependent

P. 33. सम्मिलित् परितोषयन्ते—for some act which gave me satisfaction. प्रनिलिपिनम्—a sample of his handwriting.

tructed as जीवसिद्धिनाम तस्य थाव्यामासतुः। When Rāksasa denied that he sent the Viṣakanyā against Parvatakeśvara, Malayaketu and Bhāgurāyaṇa mentioned to him the name Jivasiddhi, thereby showing him that they were in the know of the person who gave him the Visakanyā and what that person Jivasiddhi and Rāksasa together did हृदयमति—When Rāksasa found that even Jivasiddhi whom he had considered and confided in as a bosom friend had been in contact with his enemy, he concluded that even his heart had been captured by his foes. विश्वस्मधाती—a breaker of confidence, a betrayer and traitor. समाधीयता चन्द्रगुप्तः—join Candra-gupta स्वीकार्णमिद् चेष्टितम्—One should avenge the wrongs if he is a man; to commit suicide is to act like women who are impotent.

P. 35. सद्गस्यः—with sword as ally चन्दन-दासमोक्षरभग्म—impatient to rescue Candanadāsa जीर्णेयानम्—an old dilapidated garden in the outskirts of a city. सेनाया व्याप्य वित्तः—had spread themselves all over the army. अग्निप्रवेशम्—giving up one's life by entering the flames. अर्वदिनिमदेन—by giving the price of money.

P. 36. अपवाय—having concealed गुप्तयेन—as the man knew that only Rāksasa, the great friend of Candanadāsa, could make that offer, he had the doubt that the person may be Rāksasa himself; to assure himself, he asked him who he was. रेत्तरि refers to Siddhārtaka अग्रमणा—vigilant.

नय नित्यिशक्ताद्; etc As the executioners had once been put to death previously for neglect of duty

and as the executioners are therefore said to be very careful, this is not the time for me to rescue Candanadāsa by resorting to my sword and valour, for, at the very sight of an armed person, even from a distance, they will immediately execute Candanadāsa निष्कामा—recompense

P 86 समावानम्—consolation निर्मत्स्वनानम्—being rebuked परिभ्रष्टेनाईति—subjected to humiliation मत्युलोकपद्म—*the passage leading to the world of death* पद्मलङ्—garland of a particular flower, viz Karavira, which is thrown on the criminal to be executed as a mark of capital sentence तदापारितं राक्षसानुषर्णनम्—imitating a part of your act Candanadāsa had offered to give up his life to protect Rāksasa and his family from the king, Rāksasa now says that he offers to give up his own life saving Candanadāsa's, and in his great esteem for the sacrifice of Candanadāsa, compares his offer to a meagre imitation of his friend's great act

आनादपन्—In ancient India the execution ground was near the crematorium, cāndālas or untouchables were in charge of the execution as of the crematorium दर्शारिक—door-keeper

P 88 आवृ—mine गुणं न परितुष्मान् etc Being his envious enemies, we are not able to be pleased at his qualities, or though his envious enemies (मत्सरिणी) we can never be sufficiently pleased at his endowments प्राप्यनाय—*for convincing him or making him believe* मद्वत् —a Jain monk refers to Jīva-iddhi (Indusarman) थेट्टिन—refers to Candanadāsa पैतृ—come down from father or

ancestors hereditary गुदनन्—one whose manou
vres were free from mistakes

P 39 अद्व्यम्—improper person नार्णश्च—
with his support worn out तीरन्तरीक्षा—in the
same manner as a tree on a water bank which
falls down the ground at its roots having been
slowly washed away by the water The unsuitable
person chosen as support is compared to the
waterside ground the reference is to Malayaketu

P 40 सान्धिव्यचिह्नम्—emblem of being the
minister पुरुष आग्ने चाणक्य निवेदयत् is a locative absolute
पुरुषे च +निवेदयति सति । पित्र्यम्—that which belonged to
his father

सर्वनगरेषु यष्टिपदम्—The Śresthīn is a leader or
chief of the merchant guild Candanadāsa was
already a Śresthīn of the jeweller community of
Paṭalipura now he is made the chief of the
jeweller guilds in the whole Mauryan Kingdom
In the Daśakumāracarita of Dandin (Apahāravar
man's story) there is a reference to a boon or
concession conferred by Maurya i.e., Candragupta
on the merchant community (Vaniks) abolishing
capital punishment for them

मौथदत्तवर एष वणिजाम्, इदशेष्वारधिष्ठनाभरदियोग ।

If we are to rely on and set much store by
the part played by the chief merchant of the city
of Patalipura Candanadasa as also on this honour
conferred on him in the end as told in the Drama
we may also take Dandin's reference to mean that
the occasion for this honour was also attended by
not only amnesty for all (as is ordered by Canakya

in VII. 17), but also by the abolition of capital punishment for merchants; not only was Candanadāsa the Sreṣṭhin who was condemned to death set free, but his whole community was decreed to be free from capital sentence for all time.

विना वाहनहस्तिभ्य etc There is a pun here on संबंधन्यन्, bandhana meaning imprisonment as well as roping to a post as in the case of horses and elephants A further pun on the word is made in the second line where Bandha refers to Cāṇakya tying up his loose tuft

चाणक्य+ +तर्थारितु दनाय नस्ये While the Jain Brhatkathākośa mentions a story of Cāṇakya's eventual renunciation, the Jain Pārīśāstaparvan and the Buddhistic Arya Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa record a tradition that Cāṇakya continued as a minister under Candragupta's son Bindusāra too

नान्दोः—emperor According to the report made to Alexander, the powerful Nanda Kingdom of Pātalipura comprised the entire East and the Gangetic region (the Gangaridae [Gaṅgarāstra] and the Prassī [Prācyas]) From the Hāthigumpha Inscription of Kharavela, we know that Nanda rule extended to Kāhīga. Late Mysore inscriptions remember Nanda sway over Southern regions too. When Candragupta destroyed the Nandas, he became the emperor not only over these regions, but also over the North-west and further territories in the South. Plutarch says (Lives—Ch LXII) “Not long afterwards, Androcottos (Candragupta) who had at that time mounted the

throne presented Seleukos with 500 elephants and overran and subdued the whole of India with an army of 600,000." There is a reference in Tamil literature (Māmūlanār, Aham) to the forces of the Moriyas invading the South to subdue the king of Mōhūr, cutting their way across the mountains, and being helped in this invasion by the local Kośar and Vaḍukar. That Western India (Surāstra) was made a Mauryan province is proved by Rudradāman's Girnar Rock Inscription. In the North-west, Candragupta defeated Seleukos who, by a treaty with Candragupta, ceded to the latter Kandahar, Kabul and Baluchistan. The references to distant North-western, Western and Southern Kings in the Asokan rock edicts also confirm this vastness of the empire over which Candragupta became Sārvabhauma or emperor.

थीमद्रूत्सकुलान्तुराशिरशिभि—one who was like the moon to the ocean of the Vasta gotra, i.e., one who made that line increase or joyous by his appearance. जविन तुल्यविद्या—equal to Br̥haspati in intellect तन्नपट्क—the six Darśanas Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, Sāṃkhya-Yoga and the Pūrva and Uttara Mīmāṃsās नीतेयोऽग्निता goes with वपाभागः—which instructs one in the subject of polity. धामामुर-महादेवाख्यतीर्थः—by the Br̥ahman Mahādevatīrtha. मुद्रराक्षसनाटकोदितकथाभागः—the story told in the drama Mudrārāksasa (of Viśākhadatta). व्याभागः means the bare story.

Alphabetical Index of and Notes on the Names in the Story

Abhayadatta — The royal physician at Pātalipura, an agent of Rāksasa, administers a poison-ed medicine to Candragupta, Cānakya detects the poison by the change of colour in the golden vessel of the medicine, is made to drink his own poisoned medicine and die

Indusarman — A classmate of Cānakya proficient in polity, astrology and incantation, assumes the guise of a Jain monk and the pseudonym Jīvasiddhi and makes himself a great friend of Rāksasa for fifth column activity on behalf of Cānakya, cultivates also the friendship of the Nanda commanders, forecasts a trouble to them on a particular day, himself raises an evil spirit that day, and puts it down prevents the commanders from going to the battle against Cānakya and Candragupta by informing them individually that the day of the battle was fatally malefic towards them creates the Viśakanyā to be directed against Candragupta by Rāksasa but by whom Parvatakeśvara is killed, after Rāksasa's flight from the city, is banished by Cānakya for creating the Viśakanyā, joins Rāksasa, when the forces of Malayaketu and Rāksasa are near Pātalipura for attacking Candragupta, deserts Rāksasa, after poisoning Malayaketu's mind that it was at Rāksasa's instance that he had raised the Viśakanyā to kill his father Parvatakeśvara and that he is deserting now because Rāksasa the

great expert in polity is beginning to do something like that again.

Karabhaka :—A spy of Rāksasa who brings him news of the difference between Cānakya and Candragupta over the Kaumudimahotsava and the announcement by Candragupta that, independent of Cānakya, he is himself carrying on his royal duties.

Candanadāsa :—A big merchant of Pātalipura; chief of the merchant guild of the city; dearest friend of Rāksasa with whom the latter leaves his family while leaving the city; a spy of Cānakya. Nipuṇaka by name, finds out that he is harbouring Rāksasa's family; is pressed by Cānakya to surrender Rāksasa's family; but refuses to do so; knowing that any sacrifice to which he is forced will surely bring Rāksasa to save him. Cānakya has him condemned to death; Cānakya's plan succeeds and Rāksasa coming to know of Candanadāsa going to the gallows on his behalf rushes to his side and rescues him by paying the price of taking office under Candragupta; to gratify Rāksasa, Cānakya orders that Candanadāsa be made the chief of all the merchants of the kingdom.

Candragupta.—Last son of Maurya, the Śūdrā-putra of King Sarvātha-iddhi of Pātalipura; nephew of the Nine Nandas; promises in the underground cellar to take vengeance on the Nine Nandas and survives his father and brothers; is brought out of the underground cellar to try his wit for solving the wax-lion puzzle; is entrusted

with the supervision of the dining hall; meets Cāṇakya and with his aid wreaks his vengeance against the Nine Nandas; is made emperor by Cāṇakya; Rākṣasa plans many attempts on his life, but finally surrenders and becomes his minister.

Candralekhā :—The She-elephant of Candragupta; to give the impression that Candragupta himself was going in, Cāṇakya makes Vairodhaka enter the palace riding on this elephant; her mahout is Barbaraka, an agent of Rākṣasa; he draws a sword concealed in his golden staff to strike at Candragupta; Candralekhā mistakes that her mahout was going to give her a blow on the back with the staff and takes to a speedy gait; the mechanical arch contrived by Dāruvarman and adjusted to fall on the riding king falls on Barbaraka at her back.

Cāṇakya :—A Southern Brahman of surpassing intellect, learning and anger; comes to the dining hall of the Nandas; meets Candragupta who is on duty there and who narrates to him his story and the wrong done to him and his family by the Nandas; is dragged away from the first seat in the dining hall which he occupies and is thus insulted by the Nandas, for which he swears to destroy them; with Candragupta and Parvata-keśvara, an ally, destroys the Nandas; the whole story is a description of how he makes Candragupta the king, saves him from Rākṣasa's attempts on his life, foils Rākṣasa's plans to uproot him with the aid of Malayaketu, and

finally makes Rāksasa himself accept the minister's office under Candragupta; in the end retires to the forest for penance.

Citravarman.—King of the Kulūtas: a friend of Parvatakeśvara; one who fights on the side of Parvatakeśvara and later is on the side of Malayaketu; implicated in the letter which Cānakya writes and uses against Rāksasa to show to Malayaketu that Rāksasa and the five kings Citravarman etc are Candragupta's agents and hence, along with the four other kings, is ordered by Malayaketu to be executed.

Jīvasidhi (Kṣapanaka). See Induśarman

Dingarāta.—According to the Drama, the nephew of Candrabhānu the Mahāpratihāra; plays the same part as Bhadrabhata; see Bhadrabhata below. MSS of the Drama read his name variously as Dindirāta, Hīngurāta and so on.

Dāruvarman :—An architect of Pāṭalipura; an agent of Rāksasa instructed by Rāksasa to do away with Candragupta by some means, devices a machine arch gateway to be let down to kill Candragupta when the latter enters the palace; Cānakya smells the danger from Dāruvarman and sends Vairodhaka at the time appointed for Candragupta's entry; the elephant on which Vairodhaka was riding takes to a faster gait and the arch falls and kills Barbaraka the mahout; noting this miscarriage, Dāruvarman plucks an iron rod fastening the arch and kills Vairodhaka; upon this, Vairodhaka's retinue stones Dāruvarman to death.

Dirghacaksus —A warden in charge of an outpost (Gulmasthāna) in Rāksasa-Malayaketu camp captures Siddhārthaka with a letter bearing Rāksasa's seal, going out without obtaining the permit seal

Mss of the Drama read his name variously as Dīrgharakṣa, Dīrghajangha and Dīrghavakṣa

Durgapāla or Vijaya (Pāla) —An executive officer under Candragupta, when Candanadāsa proves stubborn, Cānakya sends orders to him to bind over Candanadāsa, in the end again, he sends word to him that Candanadāsa is to be made chief of the merchants of the entire realm

Mahādeva refers to him as Durgapāla on p 21 and as Durgapāla Vijaya on p 40 Mss of the Drama are very confusing in their readings in both these portions, and we do not know whether Durgapāla and Vijayapāla are two persons, or whether Durgapāla is the official designation and Vijaya (pāla) is his proper name, in some Mss the name is found as Vijaya only, according to Mahādeva, Vijaya is the proper name of the Durgapāla

Dhanasena —A member of Candanadāsa's household, when Cānakya sends for him, Candanadāsa sees that Rāksasa's family hiding in his house is evacuated secretly somewhere by him

Nāra Nandas —The nine sons of king Sarvārthasiddhi by his Kṣatriya wife Sunandā, are first delivered as a mass of flesh, Rāksasa brings them into human form by keeping them in ghee cans,

they and Rākṣasa are greatly attached, but are jealous and suspicious of their half brother, Maurya, and his hundred sons; contrive to imprison Maurya and his sons in an underground hall and thus earn the enmity of Maurya's youngest son Candragupta; in the lion-test proposed by a king, bring Candragupta out and entrust him with the supervision of the dining hall; honour everyday a hundred ordinary Brahmins and one great Brahman scholar; insult Cāṇakya in the dining hall and pay the penalty of death in the battle waged against them by Cāṇakya, Candragupta Parvatakeśvara.

Nipuṇaka :—A spy of Cāṇakya; he puts on the guise of the beggar who carries a scroll depicting scenes of hell, and sings songs exhorting people to observe Dharma and avoid hell; in this guise he goes to Candanadāsa's house; a boy comes out eager to see him; a lady from inside hastens to drag the boy in; in that act of hers, a rather loose ring on her finger falls down unnoticed and the spy secures it; from the name Rākṣasa on it, he detects the information that Rāksasa has left his family in Candanadāsa's house; conveys the signet ring and the information to Cāṇakya who is just then thinking of how to capture Rāksasa; Cāṇakya decides to capture Rāksasa with that signet ring of the latter; Cāṇakya's fake letter is sealed with that ring, so that when Siddhūrthaka tries to go out of Rāksasa's camp and is caught with that letter, Malayaketu takes it as a genuine letter of Rāksasa; Siddhūrthaka takes the ring with him when he goes to

Rākṣasa's camp with Śakaṭadāsa; Śakaṭadāsa bundles the ornaments presented to him by Rākṣasa for rescuing Śakaṭadāsa, and seals them with Rākṣasa's ring; Śakaṭadāsa is given the ring and the authority to use it as the seal of permit in Rākṣasa's camp; the seal of Rākṣasa on the letter and ornaments involve Rākṣasa completely in a charge of treacherous private pact with Candragupta and lead to his abandonment by Malayaketu.

Mudrā in the title of the play refers to this ring which plays such an important part in the capture of Rākṣasa.

Parvatakeśvara :—A Mleccha chief whose alliance Cāṇakya seeks and with the aid of whose army and the armies of whose subordinates, Cāṇakya and Candragupta succeed in taking Pāṭalipura; Cāṇakya promises to give him half of the kingdom for the aid; is won over by Rākṣasa's intrigue; with the Visakanyā sent by Rākṣasa against Candragupta, Cāṇakya gets him eliminated; his ornaments are sold to Rākṣasa and are effectively used by Cāṇakya to show Rākṣasa as being in secret pact with Candragupta; is the father of Malayaketu.

Puraśadatta :—According to the play, is the commander of cavalry; plays the same part as Bhadrabhaṭa; see below Bhadrabhaṭa.

Puṣkarākṣa :—King of Kashmir; plays the same part as Citravarman; see under Citravarman.

Pramodaka :—A valet in attendance in the bedroom of Candragupta; an agent of Rākṣasa

paid to put an end to Candragupta; becoming rich suddenly with this payment from Rāksasa's agents, begins to live above his standard and thus rouses Cāṇakya's suspicion; is asked by Cāṇakya how he came by wealth and when he is not able to stand the cross-examination, is put to death by Cāṇakya by torture.

Barbaraka —Candragupta's mahout in charge of the royal she-elephant Candralekhā; an agent of Rāksasa; is employed to kill Candragupta while he rides the elephant and enters the palace; for this purpose he carries a dagger concealed in his golden staff; regarding how the elephant mistakes him and how the plan miscarries and how he dies, see above under *Candralekhā*

Balagupta —According to the Drama, a kinsman of royal rank (Svajanagandhi [sambandhi] and Mahārāja). MSS. of the Drama give his name as *Baladevagupta* also; plays the same part as *Bhadrabhaṭa*; see below *Bhadrabhaṭa*

Bibhatsa —He, along with some others is paid by Rāksasa's agents to kill Candragupta while asleep; they get through an underground passage to Candragupta's bedroom and remain concealed within the wall; before Candragupta enters the bedroom, Cāṇakya inspects it and finds ants coming out of holes in the walls with particles of food; Cāṇakya concludes that the room is already peopled by some persons in concealment and orders the room to be set on fire; with smoke enveloping everywhere, Bibhatsa and his associates are not able to find their subterranean passage and perish

Bhadrabhaṭa :—A supporter of Candragupta and one who rose to power with him (Pradhāna puruṣa and Sahotthāyin) like Bhāgurāyaṇa ; according to the Drama, he is the commander of the elephant corps (Gajādhyakṣa) ; he along with some others like him, desert Candragupta and resort to Malayaketu through his commander, according to the plan of Cāṇakya ; when the trap is well set and Malayaketu himself is made to dismiss Rākṣasa and make himself supportless, he, along with Bhāgurāyaṇa and others bring Malayaketu in bonds to Cāṇakya ; in the end, at the instance of Cāṇakya, goes along with Bhāgurāyaṇa and others to Malayaketu's home to crown him there as king.

Bhāgurāyaṇa :—Described in the Drama as younger brother of the commander Siṁhabala : friend and ally of Candragupta and Cāṇakya and one of the Pradhānapuruṣas who rose to power along with Candragupta (Sahotthāyins) ; at Cāṇakya's instance, becomes a confidant of Malayaketu ; sends Malayaketu away from Pātalipura, telling him that Cāṇakya killed his father to avoid giving him the promised half of the kingdom ; joins Malayaketu later and becomes his minister ; slowly carries out Cāṇakya's plan to create misunderstanding between Malayaketu and Rākṣasa , makes Malayaketu believe that Rākṣasa is in secret contact with Candragupta and makes Malayaketu abandon Rākṣasa ; when Malayaketu is rendered solitary, captures him and brings him over to Cāṇakya ; in the end, goes with Bhadrabhaṭa

and others to crown Malayaketu in his own father's kingdom

Malayaketu —Son of the Mleccha chief Parvatakeśvara who was the ally of Cānakya and Candragupta, after the death of his father through the Visakanyā, Bhāgurāyana at the instance of Cānakya sends him away to his own country by alarming him that Cānakya murdered his father, according to Cānakya's plan Bhāgurāyana Bhadrabbata etc pretend to have deserted Candragupta and joined him, is taken in by the strategem, makes Bhāgurāyana his minister and allows himself to be misled by him to believe that Rāksasa who had resorted to him for uprooting Candragupta is really a secret agent of Candragupta and is thus made to abandon Rāksasa he is also misled regarding the bona fides of his own five allies Citravarman etc whom he orders to be executed, when he has rendered himself alone in this manner Bhāgurāyana, Bhadrabbata etc bring him bound to Cānakya, to please Rāksasa now Candragupta's minister Cānakya not only spares his life but asks Bhāgurāyana and others to go to Malayaketu's own country and crown him there on his father's throne

Men of the Drama read his name variously as Meghākṣa, Meghākhyā, Meghanāda and Medhānka.

Maurya —Son of king Sarvārthasiddhi of Pātalipura by his Sūdra wife Mūrī; half-brother of the Nine Nandas; as he has no chance for the kingdom, he sets the Nine Nandas in mutual discord; is made the commander of the forces, is the father of hundred sons of whom Candragupta is the youngest; the jealous and suspicious Nandas and Rāksasa lock him and his sons in an underground hall by a ruse, leaving young Candragupta to take vengeance on the Nandas, he along with his ninety-nine other sons, perishes in the underground chamber.

Rāksasa —Minister of Nanda Sarvārthasiddhi and the Nine Nandas; not well disposed towards Maurya and his sons; after the death of the Nandas and the murder of Sarvārthasiddhi and Parvatakeśvara resorts to Parvatakeśvara first and then his son Malayaketu and works against Cānakya and Candragupta; admiring his greatness as a minister, Cānakya plans to capture him and make him Candragupta's minister; while Rāksasa's attempts are foiled Cānakya's succeed and Rāksasa is made to take the office of minister under Candragupta.

Rājasena :—According to the Drama, one serving Candragupta from the latter's boyhood days; plays the same part as Bhadrabhata, see above Bhadrabhata.

from Candragupta ; when they come back with the jewels Cānakya asks them to go to Rāksasa's camp and sell them to Rāksasa ; they do so and return.

Cānakya's letter mentions these ornaments as sent by Candragupta to Rāksasa as a token of their mutual regard. Having presented the ornaments given to him by Malayaketu to Siddhārthaka for saving Śakaṭadāṭa from Cānakya, Rāksasa appears before Malayaketu with the ornaments of the late Parvatakeśvara bought from Viśvāvasu and his brothers, just after Malayaketu had perused the letter mentioning the ornaments as presents from Candragupta to Rāksasa ; Malayaketu is unable to believe that Candragupta could have sold such ornaments through any merchants ; the ornaments sold by Viśvāvasu and his brothers to Rāksasa thus effectively prove to Malayaketu that Rāksasa is an agent of Candragupta and lead to his abandoning Rāksasa.

Viśakanyā :—A poison damsel whose contact kills people ; an evil spirit created by Induśarman (Jivasiddhi, the Jain monk) at the instance of Rāksasa to kill Candragupta ; Rāksasa offers her as a precious gem of a lady to Candragupta ; the vigilant Cānakya suggests to Candragupta that Parvatakeśvara deserves to be honoured first as their ally with this precious present ; in the bed chamber, Parvatakeśvara is killed at her contact ; she disappears miraculously ; afraid that he may be caught next morning for sending her, Rāksasa flies away from the city that very night ; Bhāgurāyaṇa misleads Malayaketu that it was Cānakya

Rohitakṣa — Some ms^o of the Drama read Lohitākṣa, according to the drama, the son of the Mālava king, plays the same part as Bhadrabhata, see Bhadrabhata above

Vijaya — The name of the Durgapāla, see above Durgapāla

Vijayatārman — According to the Drama, chief of a free Kṣatriya republic (Kṣatragana) community plays the same part as Bhadrabhata, see Bhadrabhata above

Virudhagupta — A spy of Rāksasa who brings to the latter the news at Pātalipura from the seige of the city upto the leading of Śakata dāsa to the gallows the news of the miscarriage of the attempts of Dāruvarman, of the failure of those of Abhayadatta, Pramodaka and Bibhatea, of the banishment of Jivasiddhi, of the condemnation of Śakatadāsa to the gallows and the imprisonment of Candanadāsa

Viśvāsū — a Brahman friend of Cāṇakya; when Cāṇakya gets Rāksasa's signet ring through his spy Nipunaka he thinks of some means to capture Rāksasa with his own ring, just at that time, Candragupta sends word that he likes to perform the obsequies of the late ally Parvatakeśvara and distribute Parvatakeśvara's ornaments to Brāhmaṇas, this puts the idea into Cāṇakya's mind that the late Parvatakeśvara's jewels can be used to involve Rāksasa in trouble and to capture him, Cāṇakya sends Viśvāsū and two brothers of his go to and receive the jewel presents

from Candragupta ; when they come back with the jewels Cānakya asks them to go to Rāksasa's camp and sell them to Rāksasa ; they do so and return.

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who used the Visakanyā against Parvatakeśvara and makes him run away to his country; later, Jivasiddhi (Induśarman) reveals, at a psychological moment, to Malayaketu himself that Rākṣasa it was who sent the Viṣakanyā.

Viṣṇudāsa.—A leading merchant of Pāṭalipura and friend of Candanadāsa, who it is said, offers money for the release of Candanadāsa, and on being unable to save him, goes away to immolate himself in fire; a spy of Cāṇakya tries to hang himself in the old garden in the outskirts of Pāṭalipura before Rākṣasa's eyes and when asked by Rākṣasa why he is hanging himself, tells Rākṣasa that as a friend of Viṣṇudāsa the friend of Candanadāsa, he is unable to bear the loss of his friend and is hence committing suicide; this news makes Rākṣasa run to the execution ground to save Candanadāsa by offering himself as the victim.

Vairodhaka.—Brother of Parvatakeśvara; after the killing of Parvatakeśvara with the Viṣakanyā, while Malayaketu runs away, Vairodhaka is consoled by Cāṇakya with the promise of half the kingdom originally promised to Parvatakeśvara; secretly Cāṇakya is considering the way to dispose him off when Cāṇakya smells danger from the architectural erections of Dāruvarman, made ready for Candragupta's entry into the palace. Cāṇakya seats Vairodhaka on the throne, divides the kingdom, and makes him enter the palace on Candragupta's elephant and with Candragupta's retinue, so that Dāruvarman and his

associates may take him to be Candragupta himself, though the arch does not fall on him and kill him, Dāruvarman kills him with an iron piece drawn from the gateway

Mss of the Drama read his name as Vairocaka also

Śālatadasa —A Kāyastha or Scribe of Pātali pura, a great friend of Rāksasa, ill disposed towards Candragupta and Cānakya, left by Rāksasa within the city with funds to carry on anti-Candragupta activities, Cānakya makes a spy of his cultivate his friendship and get an unaddressed and unsigned letter written by him which is ultimately used against Rakṣa-a to show Rāksasa as being in secret pact with Candragupta, with his family thrown in prison, is condemned to the stakes for his teacherous activities and is spirited away from the stakes to Rāksasa's camp by Siddhārthaka according to a plan of Cānakya, entrusted by Rāksa-a with the charge of his seal

Śikharaka —(or Śikharasena or Sekharasena)
Mss of the Drama read his name variously thus, Mahādeva's text itself records it as Śikharaka on p 24 and as Śikharasena on p 28, is the Commander of Malayaketu, Bhadrabhata and others who desert Candragupta and resort to Malayaketu introduce themselves to Malayaketu through him, saying that having left Candragupta for his association with an evil minister, they approach him thereto not through Rāksasa, but through his commander, Malayaketu does not understand what they mean and when he asks Bhāgurāyana, he

gives the misleading answer that if unable to bear Cānakya, Candragupta dismisses his minister, Rāksasa may come to terms with Candragupta as the latter is a member of the Nanda family and all the anger of Rāksasa is only against Cānakya and if it happens so, Malayaketu may not trust Bhūdrabhata and others too were they to resort to him through Rāksasa. When Malayaketu has been misled to believe that his five associates Cītravarman etc are also his enemies he orders Śikharasena according to the drama to put them all to death

Samrddhārthaka —A spy of Cānakya, along with Siddhārthaka puts on the guise of a Candāla and takes Candanadāsa for execution

Mss of the Drama read his name as Samīdhdārthaka and Susiddhārthaka also

Sarvarthasiddhi —Nanda king of Pāṭalipura, has two wives Sunandā and Murā, father of the Nine Nandas and Maurya and grandfather of Candragupta, retired to the forest for penance after the fall of Pāṭalipura and the death of his sons the Nine Nandas Cānakya has him murdered in the forest so that Rāksasa may have no member of the royal family to take up as his support

Simhanāda —King of Malaya, plays the same part as Cītravarman, see above Cītravarman

Mss of the Drama read his name is Nṛsimha also

Siddharthaka —An agent of Cānakya who makes himself the friend of Sakatadāsa the scribe

and friend of Rāksasa, gets the unaddressed, unsigned letter written by Sakatadāsa, at the instance of Cānakya according to Cānakya's plan; takes the fake letter sealed with Rāksasa's ring and the ring also, arranges with the executioners his rescue of Śakatadāsa from the stakes, along with Śakatadāsa, presents himself to Rāksasa as Śakatadāsa's saviour, is presented by Rāksasa with the ornaments on his body, the ornaments which Malayaketu had just presented to Rāksasa; ties up the ornaments and seals them with Rāksasa's ring, hands over to Rāksasa his Ring as found at the door of Candanadāsa's house, with Rāksasa's permission serves him, when the forces of Malayaketu and Rāksasa are near Pātalipura, he tries to leave the camp without the seal-permit, manages to get himself thus caught and examined by Bhāgurayana chief agent of Cānakya at the camp of Malayaketu, allows himself to be beat and tells that he is, carrying a letter and some presents from Rāksasa to Candragupta, and thus involves Rāksasa in trouble, Malayaketu's suspicion that Rāksasa is in conspiracy with Candragupta is fully substantiated by this returns to Pātalipura, and along with Samuddhārthaka, puts on the guise of Candālas and enacts the part of the executioner of Candanadāsa, and when Rāksasa offers himself in the place of Candanadāsa and asks the information to be carried to Cānakya, informs Cānakya that Rāksasa has been brought

Sindhusena — King of the Sindhus, plays the same part as Citravarman, see Citravarman above

Mss of the Drama read his name as *Susenā*
also

Sunanda —Kshatriya wife of king Sarvārtha-siddhi of Pātalipura, when a sage's Pādodaka is sprinkled on her she does not receive it with as much reverence as Murā hence her nine sons are first delivered as a mass of flesh mother of the Nava Nandas

Stanakalaśa —A royal bard in the palace at Pātalipura, in the pay of Rāksasa when Cānakya and Candragupta enact their feigned quarrel he recites verses fanning the feelings of Candragupta

Mahādeva's Text.	Mudrārāksasa, Telang's Edn.
Pages.	Pages.
16	
17	127-8, 130
18	130-3
	134-67
19	67-8
	81-2
20	82-3
	87
21	88-89
22	103
23	144-142
24	142
25-7	165-179
29	229-232
30	234-236-8
31	241
32-4	243-247-259

The above table shows only the longer passages reproduced by Mahādeva from the Drama and not the many small passages, phrases, and words reproduced by him.
